1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the sacred woods of the *Ai*, during which time he is deprived of food, though allowed access to water. Marshall also states that it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove "after due sanctification." Though I failed to obtain definite confirmation of Marshall's statement, it is possible that something of the kind may at one time have taken place or may even still take place.

At the present time the buffaloes are tended entirely by males, and males only are allowed to take any part either in the work of the dairy or in those dairy operations which are performed in the house. There is a tradition that at one time women attended to the buffaloes at the time of calving, and one incident is recorded in which women performed Cæsarian section on a dying buffalo (p. 78), but this custom has now long ceased to be followed.

The first buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda gods, On, and his wife. The buffaloes created by the male deity were the progenitors of the sacred buffaloes, while the ordinary buffaloes or *putsir* are descended from those created by the wife. Certain other buffaloes are descended from ancestors created by other gods, but the account of their various creations may be deferred till the chapter containing the legends of the gods. I was told by some that the sacred buffaloes were descended from a sambhar deer, but it was later found that this was only believed to be true of one special group of buffaloes belonging to one clan.

Dairy Procedure

The general plan of the dairy procedure is the same in all dairies, the difference between different dairies lying chiefly in certain formalities accompanying certain stages of the procedure.

The day's operations begin with the churning of the milk drawn on the previous evening. The milk is poured from the milking-vessels into earthenware pots, and during the night it will have coagulated. The coagulated mass is first broken up by the churn; water and butter already made are added,

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There is a legend that the original buffaloes of this herd

173 were sent from Amnodr[1] by the god On to the people of Taradr.
234 A long time after they came to Taradr the herd was on the
462 point of dying out, only one cow buffalo remaining, which
793 was so old that it had lost its teeth. This sole survivor was pregnant, and when about to calve the delivery was much delayed, and it seemed that the buffalo would die before the calf was born. Only women were present and they cut open the belly of the buffalo and took out the calf, which was tended very carefully and lived, and the existing *kugvalir* are descended from this calf.

This story preserves a tradition of the practice of women attending to the buffaloes at the time of calving, which is said to have been at one time the regular practice.

292 The *kugvalikartmokh* sleeps in the *kwotars* or calf-house,
513 except at Taradr, at which place he sleeps in the outer room
784 of his dairy. He is allowed to sleep in the ordinary hut on
793 certain nights in the week, and may only have intercourse with Tarthar women.
834 He wears the grey garment, or *tuni*, which he ties round his waist when churning and wears over his shoulders when milking.

234 The work of the dairy is carried out on the same general
788 lines as that already described, but with certain distinguishing features.

All the work is done *kabkaditi*; the dairyman never turns his back to the contents of the dairy. In those villages in which he sleeps in the calf-house he goes naked (except for the *kuvn*) to the *kugvali*, washes his hands, prostrates himself at the threshold, enters, and puts on his *tuni* which is kept on the *patatmar*. He salutes the *mani*, which he feeds with curd and milk as in other dairies. He also knocks on the *patat* three times, saying "*Ot*" each time.

234 As in the other village dairies, he only prays and lights the
415 lamp in the evening. When he gives out buttermilk, he
788 must use the vessel called *pölmachok*. He drinks buttermilk (*peputi*) in a distinctly more ceremonial manner than in the ordinary dairy, sitting on the seat (*kwottün*) outside the dairy, and pouring from the *ertatpun* into a leaf-cup made of two

[1] The world of the dead.

1/2 [The Kugvalir -- Analysis]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 412 415 778 783

The *kuvi* or milking vessel is the only vessel which is not purified inside the dairy. With the exception of this vessel all the other objects used in the dairy are purified in the outer room or at the junction of the inner and outer rooms.

All old, broken or worn-out vessels or implements are thrown away except the *kuvi*, which must be buried in a wood near a dairy. Thus this vessel is treated unlike other contents of the dairy, both when being purified and when rejected as of no further use. I could obtain no explanation of this, and can only suggest that the exceptional treatment is due to the fact that it comes into actual contact with the sacred buffaloes.

The Five Ti

173 234 621 773

At present there are only five *ti* in existence, belonging to the clans of Nòdrs, Kars, Pan, Kwòdroni, and Nidrsi. The Keradrol are said to have had a *ti* at one time which was spirited away by the god Kwoto (see Chap. IX) and the name of one of its places, Tikfrs, is still preserved.

The most important *ti* belongs to Nòdrs and this is one of the original institutions, the *ti* of Kars and that of Kwòdrdoni being the others. The Pan *ti* is derived from that of Nòdrs (see story of Kwoten), and the Nidrsi *ti* is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni institution.

Of these five *ti*, that of Nòdrs is the only one which still has two *palol*. The Kars *ti* has only one *palol*, and similarly that of Pan. The *ti* of Kwòdrdoni and Nidrsi are at present unoccupied. At the Kwòdrdoni *ti* the office is filled once a year for a limited period in order to satisfy certain requirements of the Kotas.

No *ti* is allowed to be vacant when the final funeral ceremonies are performed for any member of the clan to which the *ti* belongs, and it is only on the occasion of these ceremonies that a *palol* is now appointed to the Nidrsi *ti*.

Each *ti* has certain features of organisation and procedure peculiar to itself. There are certain differences of ritual and differences in the names and kinds of the buffaloes and sacred objects. The history and special features of each *ti* will now be considered.

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THE NÒDRS TI

The goddess Teikirzi lived at Nòdrs and was its ruler, and Nòdrs was in consequence especially favoured when the various buffaloes were distributed by this deity. When Pür died and Ön went away to Amnòdr (see p. 185), the Nòdrs *ti* and its buffaloes went with him. Teikirzi, who remained behind, found after a time that it was not good to rule a country without a *ti*, so she complained to Ön and asked him to send the buffaloes back. He consented and people were sent from Nòdrs to Amnòdr to fetch the buffaloes. Ön gave them the buffaloes and all the things of the *ti*, and he also gave a milking vessel and a churning stick made of gold. When the men started to bring back the buffaloes, they went some way and then found that they had forgotten the gold vessel and churn given to them by Ön. So they went back and asked Ön for the two things. Ön refused to give them up as they had not been taken at first, and it is believed that they are still in the dairy at Amnòdr.

Ön told the men who returned to ask for the things they had forgotten that the Todas were to make the vessel and churn of bamboo. They were to go to the hill called Teikhars or Kulinkars, where they would find a flower called *kavulpuv*, and he told them to make a new *kòghlag* of the same shape as that flower. They did so, and ever since that time the churning-stick both at the *ti* and at the ordinary village has been made so that it is like the flower *kavulpuv*.

Another incident which occurred during the journey of the *ti* buffaloes back from Amnòdr was the birth of a *mani*. One of the two *palol* was carrying the dairy vessels of the inner room, and the other was carrying the *mani* called Keu. When they were about half-way back to this world, the *palol* who was carrying the dairy vessels found that they had become very heavy, so he put them down, and, taking off the *thezum* which was covering one of the *persin*, he found a bell in the milk of the *persin*. So they called the bell Persin because it was the son of a *persin*, and to this day the bell is fed with milk because it was born in milk. It is the *mani* which is kept in the *ti pok* of the Nòdrs *ti*, while the other

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[774] *mani*, Keu, carried by the other *palol*, is kept in the *wars poh* 173 and this bell, Keu, is not fed with milk.

234 When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* returned from Amnòdr, ●773 they talked like men. One day when the *palol* told the *kaltmokh* to bring the calves, the buffaloes used bad language such as may not be uttered before women; they would not obey the *palol*, and refused to allow him to milk them. Then Teikirzi found that it was bad that buffaloes should have the tongues of men, and she dragged the tongues out of the mouths of the buffaloes and made them new tongues of *tudr* bark. The buffaloes could then talk no longer, and they allowed themselves to be milked.

173 Originally the Nòdrs *ti* had three places, or *ti mad*, given 221 to it by Teikirzi: Anto, Òdrtho, and Kulâdrtho. Later the 234 people made other *ti mad*, and at one time, in addition to 621 the three, they had the following places:—Mòdr, Kudreiil, 773 Majòdr, Mûkòdr, Tìdj, Pûth, and Pòos. Several of these are now disused or have disappeared altogether, but are still mentioned in the prayer of the *ti*. Of the three original places, Kulâdrtho has disappeared and its place is occupied by the Prospect tea estate. The sites of Tìdj and Pûth are also occupied by tea estates. The way to Pòos has been blocked by a Kota village, so that the buffaloes would be unable to reach it without being defiled by going through the village, and, in consequence, this dairy is not used. Mukòdr is very close to another *ti mad*, probably Majòdr, and the *palol* "were lazy" and allowed it to fall into ruins. There is a conical dairy, now in ruins, near Makurti Peak, which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti*, and it is possible that this is the dairy of Mukòdr.

The herds now spend the greater part of the year at Mòdr, but still go in most years to Anto, Òdrtho, Kudreiil, and Majòdr at certain seasons.

The Nòdrs *ti* has two kinds of *persinir*, the *tiir* and the *warsir*, each of which has its own *palol*. There are also the *punir* for the special use of the *palol*. The *tiir* have three subdivisions, the *nuir*, the *atir*, and the *tuirtir*, so called because descended from certain buffalo ancestors, or *nòdrkutchi*, who were connected with Anto, Tìdj, and Teir. The *warsir*,

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are divided into two groups, the *kulatir* and the *perithir*, so called because their *nòdrkutchi* were connected with Kulâdrtho and Perithi respectively. Teir is close to Mòdr, but does not seem at any time to have been itself a *ti mad*, and I could not ascertain why it should have given its name to one group of the buffaloes. Perithi is near Gudalur, and in the prayer of Anto (see p. 225), there is a reference to a *ti* dairy at this place from which the buffaloes evidently took their name.

At most of the dairies the buffaloes stand together and the two *palol* occupy the same *ti mad*, though each has his own dairy; but when one herd, that of the *tiir*, goes to Òdrtho, the other herd, that of the *warsir*, goes to another place called Kudreiil. These two places are quite close to one another, but are regarded as separate *ti mad*. The reason given for this separation was that at one time the *warsir* did not behave properly at Òdrtho, and Teikirzi ordered that they should not stand there again, but should go to another place. I could not ascertain what the buffaloes did to merit this punishment.

I obtained a full account of the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* at the time of my visit. There were seven *unir*; four adult buffaloes, called Kôzi, Perith, Kâsimi, and Uf, and three young buffaloes not yet named; five *atir*, Persuth, Enmars, Tòthi, and two unnamed; three *tsirtir*, Pülkoth, Köji, and one unnamed. Of *kulatir* there were four, Köji, Keirev, and two young buffaloes; of *perithir* five, Kâsimi, Kiûd, Persv, and two unnamed. Thus the *ti palol* had fifteen *persinir*, and in addition about thirty *punir*, while the *wars palol* had nine *persinir* and about fifteen *punir*.

The dairy of the *tiir* is often called the *ti poh*, and that of the *warsir*, the *wars poh*, and every dairy has also its special name; thus, at Anto the dairy of the *tiir* is called Medrpoh, and the dairy of the *warsir* is called Kadpoh or Kadvoh. One of these dairies is of the conical form, but my record does not tell me which. According to Breeks the name of the conical dairy is Kiurth. This is possibly the same word as Kad(poh), the name of the dairy of the *warsir*. The two dairies at Mòdr are Pänpoh and Känpoh. The name of the ruined conical dairy near Makurti Peak

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which belonged to the Nòdrs *ti* was Kateidipoh (Breeks, Katedva).

The *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* must be chosen either from the people of Piedr or from those of Kusharf. Originally it was ordained that the *palol* should be chosen from the Piedrol, but later the Kuudr people obtained the right of becoming *palol*. This lasted till about seven or eight generations ago, when there is a story that the people of Kwurg (Coorg) came to fight the Todas and drove off the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, which were standing at Mòdr. The *palol* was touched by the Kwurg people and in consequence ceased to be *palol*, but instead of pursuing the invaders, he sat down by the *ti* waiting till he could be reinstated in his office. The *kaltmokh*, who belonged to Piedr, followed the Kwurg people, who had carried off a large *mani* called Kän, and some people of Nòdrs and Kusharf also followed with the boy. The Kwurg people saw the *kaltmokh* and told him that he might have the buffaloes back if he would give them as many rupees as Kän would hold. The *kaltmokh* had inside his loincloth a little gold coin called *pirpanm*, which he took out and put into Kän and immediately the bell became full of rupees and the gold coin fell out. The Kwurg people took the rupees, and the *kaltmokh* took the bell and drove the buffaloes back to Mòdr.

As the Kwurg people were making their way home, they suddenly found that all the rupees had disappeared, so they turned and pursued the *kaltmokh* and the buffaloes. Then the *kaltmokh* prayed:

Per wadrth vêdrmâ, kârs wadrth vêdrmâ, mân mas vêdrinâ.

"May the high hills be broken, may the rocks be broken, may the trees fall down."

Directly there was a loud noise, the hills were divided, stones rattled, and trees fell down. Then the Kwurg people were afraid and returned to their own homes.[1] The Todas held a council, and it was decided that, as the *palol* had not

[1] This legendary account probably preserves a tradition of a real invasion of the Nilgiri Hills by the people of Coorg. The Todas put the date of the occurrence at about seven or eight generations ago. In 1774 Linga Raja, with 3,000 Coorgs, invaded the Wainad and remained there for five years. During this time it is highly probable that the Coorgs would have explored the Nilgiri Hills. (See *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, Bangalore, 1878, vol. iii., p. 130.)

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followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf.

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55).

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.'

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Önâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost.

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Telgun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Koratcu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.)

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

+ One feature of the ti poh at Mòdr, which is certainly not

234 general, is the presence of a screen in front of the door.
351 The effect of this screen is to protect the *palol* from the gaze of the ordinary Todas when they are standing in their appointed place. When I visited Mòdr I was allowed to go into the enclosure where the buffaloes are milked, but this privilege was not accorded to my Toda guides, and in consequence I was often able to observe the doings of the *palol* when they were hidden from my guides by the screen.

234 The *wars poh*, on the other hand, has no such screen, but
343 the wall surrounding this dairy is much higher than at the
351 *ti poh* and effectually screens the *palol* from the public gaze. The door of the *wars poh* faces between north and north-east, and that of the *ti poh* south-east, but owing to the presence of the screen the *palol* has on coming out to turn to the left, and therefore faces north-east when saluting.

THE KARS TI

173 The following story gives the traditional origin of the *ti*
234 *mud* at Makârs, one of the chief places of the Kars *ti*, but I
621 could not ascertain definitely whether it was supposed to give
● 773 the origin of the *ti* as a whole or only of the *ti mud* at Makârs. The story runs that Anto created buffaloes, one of which came to Makârs, where a *tudr* tree was standing. The buffalo rubbed against the tree and part of the bark came off, and that is why the place became a *ti*. When the buffalo found that there was no *palol* at Makârs and no *kaltmakh*, it was very angry and raged about furiously. While it was doing this, it jumped some stones and fell into the river called Kitheri, and it also jumped a stream called Warwar. In spite of its falling into the river, however, it did not die, but got out and pushed stones together with its horns so as to make a *tu*. Later a dairy was built near the *tudr* tree. Whether this was the origin of the *ti* or only of the *ti mud* of Makârs, it seemed quite clear that the Kars *ti* is believed to be one of the very early institutions of the Todas. Its two ancient places were Enòdr and Makârs. At each there were two dairies, and one

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

at least of those at Enòdr was of the conical variety and had the special name of Medrpoh. Enòdr has now fallen into disuse. It was a few miles to the north-east of Ootacamund, and it was no longer visited because the buffaloes would have had to pass through Ootacamund in going from Makârs to Enòdr and would have been defiled. Makârs, which is near the Nanjanad valley, is now the chief place of the *ti*, and the buffaloes were there at the time of my visit.

Another important and ancient place of the Kars *ti* is Kòn (Lingmand) in the Kundahs. In the story of Kwoto (see p. 204) the buffaloes were going to Enòdr from Kòn when the boy showed his miraculous knowledge of the buffalo *kwarsam*. Two other places are Nerâdr and Pars. Both Kòn and Nerâdr are still used, but Pars, which is not far from Ootacamund, is no longer used, having been given up because Badagas went to live near it.

As at the Nòdrs *ti*, there are two kinds of *persinir* in addition to the *punir*. The two kinds are called *pürsir* and *parsir*, the former being also sometimes called *enòdrir*. Although there are two kinds of sacred buffalo with their corresponding dairies, there has never been more than one *palol*. When a *palol* is appointed to this *ti*, he is ordained to the office of *palol* to the *parsir*, and, for the first month, he attends to these buffaloes only and enters their dairy, the *parspoh*, only. At the end of the month, he becomes *palol* to the *pürsir*, with certain ceremonies, to be described later, and from that time to the end of his period of office he works in the *pürspoh* only and never enters the *parspoh*, although he continues to attend to the *parsir* as well as to the *pürsir*. The milk of the *parsir* is mixed with that of the *pürsir* in the vessels of the dairy belonging to the latter kind of buffalo. This dairy, which is usually called *pürspoh* after the buffaloes, has also the special name of Kakanmudri.

There is one bell belonging to the *pürsir* which has three names, Perner, Uner, and Persagan, but it is also often called Ner. Kobolers told me that this bell is usually quite black, but that he had once rubbed off the thick layer of soot and dust with which it is covered and had found that it was made of gold. It seems to have been of a light colour and

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234 778 may have been made of bronze. There is also a bell belonging to the *parsir* called Talg.

173 234 618 793 Formerly the *palol* of the Kars *ti* was chosen from the Melgarsol, but this clan lost the privilege owing to the misbehaviour of one of their number when holding the sacred office. The buffaloes were standing at Enòdr, and the Melgars *palol* was milking a buffalo, when he saw a honey-bee. He got up, left the buffalo, and went after the bee, leaving his milking-vessel behind. He followed the bee, found the nest, took the comb, ate some of the honey, gave the remainder to the *kaltmokh* to put in the hut, and then went back and continued to milk the buffalo, whose name was Kän. When he had finished milking, he was taking the milk into the dairy when a plank fell on his head and he was killed. Then it was decided that Melgars people should no longer be *palol*, and that the office in future should be filled from the Teivaliol. Whenever the Todas wish to refer to the fact that the Melgars people have lost the right of being *palol*, they say, "*Kän kârvûk kiûzthenis ûpi vûchi*," or, "Kän milking, bee he followed after."

The *palol* is now taken from Piedr, Kusharf or Kuudr, and the present holder of the office is Nòdrners (67) of Kusharf. The dairies of this *ti* are always near those of the Pan *ti*, and the two *palol* share one *kaltmokh* between them, the present holder of this office being Teitun (64) of Piedr.

THE PAN TI

173 234 621 773 793 The legend of the origin of this *ti* will be given in full in the story of Kwoten (Chap. IX). When this hero was reproved by his wife because the Pan people had no *ti*, he obtained buffaloes from the Nòdrs *ti*, so that the Pan *ti* appears to have been later in origin than those of Nòdrs and Kars, and to have been derived from the former.

Certain of the buffaloes are reputed to be descended from an ancestor made by Teikhars or Kulinkars (see the story of this god in Chap. IX).

The most important dairy of this *ti* appears to have been situated at Tarsòdr or Tazòdr in the Kundahs, which is the

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place to which the buffalo created by Teikhars found its way. Tarsòdr is about two miles from Kòn, and there is still a dairy of the conical kind at this place which is probably one of those mentioned by Breeks under the name of Tarzhva. Its special name was Pôhûjpoh or Pûverizpoh, and it belonged to the group of buffaloes of the *ti* called *tarsir*. It is now falling into ruins, having been disused for about twenty years. The last *palol* who went there was Pethovan (70) of the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol. He died at Tarsòdr soon after going there in perfect health from Kudòdr. His son, Kiudners, later became *palol* to the *tarsir*, but was afraid to go to Tarsòdr because his father had died there. Like his father, Kiudners died in office at Kudòdr, and the death of both father and son while holding the office of *palol* so alarmed the Todas that no one has been to the dairy of Tarsòdr since. I was told that the dairy had been given up because the gods of Tarsòdr were so severe, *i.e.*, it was assumed that both father and son had been killed by the gods for some infringement of dairy regulations. New dairies have since been built near Kòn, the seat of the Kars *ti* in the Kundahs.

The place at which the buffaloes were standing at the time of my visit was Kudòdr, near Makârs, and this is the *ti mad* which is occupied during the greater part of the year. Another dairy is at Nerâdr, again near the *ti mad* of the same name belonging to the Kars *ti*.

A fourth place, Uterâdr, is now rarely visited, since the buffaloes may only go there when there are two *palol*.

There seems to be a very close association between the *ti* institutions of Kars and Pan. The buffaloes of the two always move about together, and the dairies are so close to one another that, at present, they are able to share the same *kaltmokh*.

The Pan *ti* has two kinds of buffalo in addition to the *punir*, viz., the *tarsir* and the *warsir*. At one time the *warsir* belonged to one division of the Pan clan, called the Panol, and the *tarsir* belonged to the other division, the Kuirsiol. At Kòn there are two dairies, one for each kind of buffalo, and each kind should also have its own *palol*. At the present time there is only one *palol*, who looks after the *tarsir*.

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173 234 618 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the *warspoh*.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 354 778 463 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi. At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 198 773 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas. According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

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the buffaloes called *arsaiir* came from the sea and were the mothers of all the *tiir*. Another account, which seemed to be more generally accepted, was that the Kwòdrdoni *ti* was instituted by Ön, like those of Nòdrs and Kars, but that one day, when the *palol* was milking, the *mani*, called Pushodipongg, came from the sea and sat on the side of the milking-vessel. 173 234 773

The chief place of this *ti* is Pursâs, situated between Kwòdrdoni and Kotagiri. The other dairies in the past were at Kakwai, Karküln, Pobkars, and Kadrin, but only the first of these, which is close to Kwòdrdoni, is now used. 234 621

At the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the buffaloes, only about eight in number, were standing at Kakwai, but were not being milked. 177 234

A *palol* is appointed every year shortly before the ceremony in honour of the god Kamataraya, which is celebrated by the Kotas in January. When the Kotas announce that they are about to hold this ceremony, a *palol* and *kaltmokh* are appointed who go to Pursâs. The buffaloes are milked and the ghi which is obtained from the milk is given to the Kotas. The *palol* remains in office for about twenty days, and his appointment is made altogether on behalf of the Kotas, who would be very angry if it were not done. It seemed that the success of the Kota ceremony would be seriously impaired if there were no *palol* at the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. 793

A *palol* would also be appointed if it were wished to hold the second funeral ceremonies, or *marvainolkedr*, of a Kwòdrdoni person. [765]

The Kwòdrdoni *ti* has never had more than one kind of buffalo, and never more than one *palol* or *kaltmokh*. The buffaloes, or *arsaiir*, are those which disobeyed the commands of Ön (see Chap. IX), and are said to be responsible for the dangers suffered by buffaloes from tigers. 234 773

The people of Nòdrs and Kars have the privilege of taking buttermilk and food at the *ti*, and are known as *mòrol*, but they may not sleep at the *ti mad*, nor do they take any part in the buffalo migration. According to one account, the people of Pan are also *mòrol*, and may even sleep at the *ti*. 184 234 554

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THE NIDRSI TI

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This is an offshoot of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. One evening, after the buffaloes and calves of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* had been shut up for the night, the women of an adjoining village were pounding the grain called *ragi*. When the calves heard the noise of the pounding, they ran out of their pen and made their way to Pursâs. One of the wooden *tasth* which bar the entrance of the pen became entangled in the neck of one of the calves, and when the calf reached a place near Edrpali village, the *tasth* dropped and became a wood, and the place is now called Tasthnòdrpem. From here the calf went on to Pursâs. The Kwòdrdoni people went to Pursâs to fetch back the calf, but when they got to the place they changed their minds and said that the calf should stop at Pursâs, and that the Nidrsi people should make a *ti* there and appoint a *palol*; and this was the origin of the Nidrsi *ti*, which is called *kar ti* because it was derived from a calf, while the *ti* of Kwòdrdoni is called *ir ti*. The two institutions have different dairies, but both are at Pursâs.

I could obtain little satisfactory information about the customs of the Nidrsi *ti*. There is only one *ti mad*, viz., that at Pursâs near the dairy of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Any of the Teivaliol may hold the office of *palol*, but at the time of my visit there was no *palol*, and the six buffaloes, which are all that remain of the herd, are being looked after, though not milked, by a Tarthar man, Todrigars (41), at one of the ordinary villages. A *palol* would have to be appointed before the second funeral ceremonies of one of the Nidrsiol could be performed, but apparently he would only hold office for a short time.

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At the present time most of the gods are believed to inhabit the summits of the hills, but they are not seen by mortals. Before the Todas were created, the gods lived on the Nilgiri Hills alone, and then it is believed that there followed a period during which gods and men inhabited the hills together. The gods ruled the men, ordained how they should live and originated the various customs of the people. The Todas can now give no definite account of their beliefs about the transition from this state of things to that which now exists.

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Each clan of the Todas has a deity especially connected with it. This deity is called the *nòdrodchi* of the clan, and is believed to have been the ruler of the clan when gods and men lived together. I am doubtful whether there is at the present time any belief that the *nòdrodchi* exerts an influence over the clan with which he is connected.

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There was no department of Toda lore which gave me greater difficulty than the study of the beliefs about the gods. There was no doubt that two gods stood out pre-eminent among the rest. One was a male deity whose name was Ön, and the other a female deity, Teikirzi. A simple question which I had the greatest difficulty in settling was the relation of these deities to one another. According to one account they were brother and sister; according to another, father and daughter. It seemed quite certain they were not husband and wife, and most probable that they were brother and sister. Others of the gods were believed to be related to one another, but on such points as this I found it almost impossible to obtain trustworthy information. It may have been reticence which made the difficulty, but I do not think so, and am inclined to think that the Todas have now only vague ideas about the histories of their more ancient gods, and have nothing like the definite traditions which they possess about deities of obviously more recent origin.

Sometimes there were discrepancies between different accounts which I could not clear up, and in such cases I give the account which seems to me to be the most trustworthy.

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PITHI

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This god is the earliest of whom any tradition is preserved. His name is Pithi or Püthi, and he is often called Pithioteu. He was born near the sacred dairy of Anto in a cave which had the same shape as the ordinary Toda hut. According to one account, Pithi created Todas and buffaloes, but there seemed to be little doubt that this is not the correct tradition, which assigns the act of creation to his son Ön. There is a suggestive resemblance between the name of this god and the Sanscrit word for earth, Prithivi, which is in common use in Southern India.

ÖN

Ön was the son of Pithi. He created the buffaloes and the Todas and became the ruler of Amnòdr, the world of the dead, where he now lives.

One day Ön went with his wife Pinârkûrs to Mêdrpem (the top of the Kundahs). There he put up an iron bar which stretched from one end of the *pem* to the other. Ön stood at one end of the bar and brought forth buffaloes from the earth, 1,600 in number. Then Pinarkurs tried to produce buffaloes and she stood at the other end of the bar and produced 1,800 buffaloes.

Behind Ön's buffaloes there came out of the earth a man, holding the tail of the last buffalo, and this was the first Toda. Ön took one of the man's ribs (*parikatelv* or *magalelv*) from the right side of his body and made a woman, who was the first Toda woman. The Todas then increased in number very rapidly so that at the end of the first week there were about a hundred.[1]

The descendants of the buffaloes created by Ön became sacred buffaloes, while the descendants of those created by his wife are the ordinary buffaloes.

[1] This account of the creation of men and buffaloes was obtained from Arsolv (27) of Kanòdrs, one of the oldest living Todas. It agrees very closely with the story as related to Mr. Breeks.

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Ön had a son called Püv. One day when Püv was acting as *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, he was churning in the dairy with a ring on the little finger of his right hand. When the dairyman goes to fetch water he should always take the churning stick out of the *patat* or vessel in which the milk is churned. On this occasion Püv left it in the *patat* and went out to fetch water. As he was going a black bird called *karpüls* tried to check him, saying "*tls, tls, tls,*" meaning "Don't go to the water," but Püv paid no attention and went on. When he was taking the water the ring dropped from his little finger into the spring. Püv saw the ring in the water, but could not reach it, and so he got into the spring. The water was not deep, and yet as soon as he stepped into the spring it completely covered him and he was drowned. When Ön found that his son was lost he cried very bitterly and covered himself with his cloak (*tuni*). (Ön is said to have been a *palol* at this time.) When Ön covered himself he looked downwards and saw, as through a veil, his son in Amnòdr playing with the ring, putting it on and off his finger.[1]

When Ön saw that his son was in Amnòdr he did not like to leave him there alone and decided to go away to the same place. So he called together all the people and the buffaloes and the trees to come and bid him farewell. All the people came except a man of Kwòdrdoni named Arsankutan. He and his family did not come. All the buffaloes came except the *arsaiir*, the buffaloes of the Kwòdrdoni *ti*. Some trees also failed to come. Ön blessed all the people, buffaloes and trees present, but said that because Arsankutan had not come he and his people should die by sorcery at the hands of the Kurumbas, and that because the *arsaiir* had not come they should be killed by tigers, and that the trees which had not come should bear bitter fruit. Since that time the Todas have feared the Kurumbas, and buffaloes have been killed by tigers. All the Todas and all the buffaloes appear to have suffered for the evil deeds of Arsankutan and the *arsaiir*.

Then Ön went away to Amnòdr, taking the buffaloes

[1] According to another account, Püv died from trying to catch the image of a white calf in the water. At that time, it was the custom to kill and bury any calf of a white colour, and one had been buried close to the spring.

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773 and the *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti* with him, and since that time
776 Ön has ruled over Amnòdr, which is sometimes called Önnòdr after him.

TEIKIRZI

This goddess is perhaps the most important of the Toda deities. She is said to have been the sister, and probably the elder sister, of Ön. I could learn very little about the story of her life, but nearly all the customs of the Todas were referred to her, and it seemed clear that when Ön left this world Teikirzi became the ruler or *nòdrodchi* of the Todas. Whenever I tried to obtain from the Todas an explanation of any ceremony or custom I nearly always received the reply, which was regarded as final, that it had been so ordained by Teikirzi.

It seems doubtful whether Teikirzi dwells in any special hill like other Toda deities, though there is a hill near Nòdrs especially connected with her. I was told that she lives everywhere in this world, and in answer to a question it was said even that her influence extends to London, where she dwells as she dwells everywhere else.

She is regarded as the ruler or *nòdrodchi* of all the Todas, and this world is often spoken of as Eikirzinòdr. At the same time Teikirzi is especially connected with Nòdrs, and she is the special *nòdrodchi* of this clan.

Five customs, or sets of customs, are ascribed especially to Teikirzi. These are:—

(i) *Madol pàkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave *madol* (clans)." Teikirzi is also said to have divided the Todas into their two chief divisions.

(ii) *Ir pàkht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave buffaloes."

Below Nòdrs, near a swamp called Keikudr, there is a small stream which at the present time Todas will not cross at a certain spot, and Teikirzi stood in this stream. According to one account she beat the water with a wand, saying "*Ir padri ma*" ("May buffaloes spring"), and buffaloes sprang out of the stream; but it seemed to be more generally accepted that she only divided the buffaloes on this spot by touching each animal on the back with a wand and saying

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the name of the clan to which it was to belong. The first portion went to Nòdrs, the second to Kuudr, the third to Kars, and the fourth to Taradr. Up to this point she used a wand of *kid* wood (*kidkurs*). For the next clan, that of Keadr, the *kidkurs* was put away and she used a wand of *tuvat* wood, and several other kinds of wand were used. Teikirzi was also said to have ordained at the same time that *warnulir* should be milked by Teivaliol and to have settled the general regulations concerning the different kinds of buffalo.

(iii) *Püliol pükht kwadrt vai*, "Who divided and gave *püliol*."

Teikirzi is said to have ordained that certain people should be the *püliol* of a man, and that *püliol* should not marry one another (see Chap. XXI).

(iv) *Ir patz id vai*, "Buffalo catch who said" Teikirzi ordained that buffaloes should be caught at the funeral ceremonies (see Chap. XV).

(v) *Kwarzam pep ostkt od vai*, "Who told the *kwarzam* and gave *pep*."

Teikirzi gave to each village its *kwarzam*, or sacred name, and settled the method of making new *pep*.

The name of Teikirzi occurs frequently in other legends. One story not mentioned elsewhere is the following:—

When Teikirzi was living at Nòdrs the people of Mysore came to fight her, but as they approached, the woods made a great noise. When the Mysore people heard the noise they stopped, and then Teikirzi cursed them and said, "Let them become stones," and they were turned into stones, which are still to be seen below Nòdrs.

Teipakh, or Tirshti

I know very little about the life-history of this deity, but he is very widely mentioned in the prayers and incantations of the Todas, and is one of their most important gods. He was the brother of Teikirzi, and differs from most other Toda deities in being a river god, Teipakh being the Toda name of the Paikara river.

Teipakh is the *nidrodchi* of the Piedr and Kusharf clans.

Although there was considerable agreement that Teipakh

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773 776 and Tirshti were one and the same god, there was some doubt about it, and, according to one account, Tirshti was only another name for Teikirzi.

Anto.

I am very doubtful about the name and identity of this god. There seemed to be little doubt that he had the same name as the chief dairy of the Nòdrs *ti* and was the chief deity connected with this dairy. According to one account he was the son of Ön, but it is possible that the two deities were identical, Anto being Önteu. His name was sometimes pronounced Anteu or perhaps more correctly Änto or Änteu.

I have only a few incidents from the life of Anto. He once rolled a huge stone with the hair of his head from Nelkòdr in the Wainad to the top of a hill called Katthval near the dairy of Anto. The god now lives near this dairy, resting his head on a spot called Ködrs, and stretching his legs on a spot called Tudrs. These places are about two furlongs apart so that Anto is evidently a god of a large size.

Anto is said to have made buffaloes, and the buffalo which founded the *ti mand* of Makars (see p. 116) was one of his creation. The fact that Anto created buffaloes increases the probability of his identity with Ön, but this is far from conclusive for there were undoubtedly several independent creations of these animals.

Kulinkars

This deity is the *nàdrodòi* of the Kars clan. His original name appears to have been Kulin, and this was changed to Kulinkars. He is also called Teikhars. He inhabits a hill near Makurti Peak, which is so steep and rocky that "no man has ever climbed it."

The following story is told of Kulinkars or Teikhars:—He once knocked on the ground and so made two buffaloes. He then told the monsoon (*kunadr*) to drive the buffaloes to the place to which they were to go, saying, "you must push them on." As the buffaloes were being driven on by the monsoon,

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a tiger went after them. When they reached a certain hill, the hill divided into two and the buffaloes went between the two parts, but still the tiger followed them. Then the buffaloes came to Kwaradr and went into the pen, and the tiger also went into the pen. When the buffaloes saw that the tiger had come into the pen, they kicked it and it died. Then one of the buffaloes said to the other, "You stay here in the pen; I am going to Tarsòdr." Then the monsoon drove on this buffalo to Tarsòdr, which is one of the dairies of the Pan *ti*. The descendants of the buffalo which stayed in the pen are the *pasthir* of Kwaradr and the descendants of the other are among the buffaloes of the Pan *ti*.

Kulinkars was connected with the *erkumpttkpini* ceremony (see Chap. XIII) and was the *mokkthodvaiol* or paramour of Nòtirzi. His relation to Nòtirzi is said to have been the origin of the *mokkthoditi* custom (see Chap. XXII), but I was not able to obtain any detailed account of this part of the history of the god.

Kulinkars has a son called Teikhidap, who lives on Makurti Peak, and the proper Toda name for this hill is Teikhidap.

NÒTIRZI

I have no details of the history of this female deity. She is the *mòdrokki* of the two important clans of Melgars and Kwadr, and lives on the hill now known as Snowdon, the Toda name of the hill being the same as that of the goddess. This hill is especially sacred, and any Toda who visits it has to salute with hand to forehead (*kainukkti*) in all directions. Like her *mokkthodvaiol*, Kulinkars, Nòtirzi is connected with the *erkumpttkpini* ceremony. She is said to have had a son called Tikuteithi or Tenkuteithi. It is possible that this is the same as Teikuteidi, who appears in the story of Kwoten (see p. 193), but they are more probably two different deities. [778]

A stone which is said to have been thrown by this goddess from her hill is shown close to the village of Pòln, under the tree known to English visitors to the Nilgiris as the 'umbrella tree.'

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KORATEU OR KUZKARV

773 776 Korateu was the son of Teikirzi. One day when Teikirzi was going from one village to another she went into a cave called Teivelkursh, by the side of a stream called Kathipa, near Kakhudri, and there gave birth to a son, who was called Azo-mazo. The afterbirth dropped into the stream and was carried down to Teipakh (the Paikara river). It travelled down the river as far as a place called Marsnavai, where there were growing two plants called *tib* and *purs* in which it became entangled. The afterbirth then slowly arose and became a boy, and the boy was Korateu. When Azo-mazo became a man he went to live at Pernòdr in the Kundaha, but Korateu lived in the river till he was eight years old. The river Teipakh was the brother of Teikirzi. As he sat in the lap of his uncle Korateu used often to play at making the buffalo horns called *tebhuter* (Fig. 35).[1] When he was eight years old he founded a *ti* and created a male and a female buffalo, making both out of earth. He also built a dairy and a buffalo pen and made the garment called *tawi*. As soon as the buffaloes had a calf, he went to fetch a churning-stick from Kaiera, beyond Makurti Peak, and took it to Nerva, near Mòdr, where his buffaloes were standing. He then went to Kurkòdr, a bamboo grove near Melpadi in the Wainad, and made a *kuzi* or milking vessel. He next made the *pursin* and the

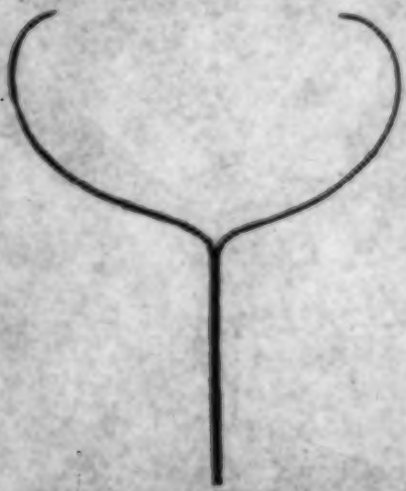

FIG. 35.—IMITATION BUFFALO HORNS.

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[1] Usually called *pethuter*.

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mani and all the other things of a *ti* and became *palol* of the buffaloes at Ödrtho. There was a buffalo here of the kind called *kaghir*, with the horns growing downwards. Koratcu cut off these horns and gave them to the *kaltmakh* at Ödrtho and they are now the horns of the Nödrs *ti*. Koratcu then made a law that the people of Piedr should fill the office of *palol* and that the *kaltmakh* should be taken from the Melgarsol. He appointed a *palol* and a *kaltmakh* from these clans, handed over the charge of the *ti* to them, and went away to the hill Koratcu, where he lived in an iron cave which he called a *pak*. He used to bathe in a pool near the hill.

At this time Koratcu was not recognised as a *tirs*, and when the gods held council he was not summoned as a member. This made him very angry.

Near Koratcu there was a wood in which there stood a tree of the kind called *mörs* (*Michelia nilagirica*) which was about 80 feet high. Koratcu ordered that honey bees (*pezhtein*) should come to the tree, and after a time there were about 300 nests, which made the tree bend down with their weight. One day about twenty men came to collect honey, Todas, Irulas, and Kurumbas. The Todas made a fire under the tree, while the Irulas and Kurumbas climbed and collected honey from the nests. When they had collected the honey from all except three or four nests, the tree became so light that it sprang back and killed the Irulas and Kurumbas, and the Todas went home.

At this time Koratcu was unmarried and he carried a stick of iron. One day a Kurumba woman came to the *mörs* tree in search of honey. Koratcu knocked her on the head with the iron stick and at once she became pregnant. That evening she gave birth to a daughter, who was very beautiful, and Koratcu decided to marry the child and sent away the mother that night. (According to another version, the child was so beautiful that the mother was frightened and went away to her own village, and Koratcu fed the child with milk and fruit and honey, and when she grew up he married her.)

Soon after the death of the Irulas and Kurumbas a sambhar calf came to Koratcu, who caught it, tamed it, and

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773 776 kept it for a month. Then certain Todas went to Korateu and asked him for a place. Korateu gave them a place and said that it should be called Keradr. The people of Keradr then asked for buffaloes. So Korateu gave them the sambhar calf and said that it should become buffaloes for them, and he ordered that the buffaloes should be called *miniapir*, and that the calves should be called *mdvelkar—i.e.*, calf from a sambhar. This was the origin of Keradr and of its *wursulir*, which are still called *miniapir*, and they are the only buffaloes of the Todas which were made from sambhar.

After these things had happened the gods recognised that Korateu was a *tes*, and calling him asked him who he was. He answered that he was the son of Teikirzi, and the *manmokh* or sister's son of Teipakh. He was then admitted as one of the gods and now lives on the hill Korateu, but still sometimes sits in the lap of Teipakh. He is the *nòdrodchi* of the Keradr and Keadr clans, and the chief villages of these clans are near his hill. He is called Kuzkarv when mentioned in prayer.

Another god, called Etepi, is said to be the same god as Korateu. It appeared, however, that Korateu lived on one hill and Etepi on another, and I could not ascertain the true relation of the deities to one another.

Azo-mazo is mentioned in the prayer of the Kars *ti* as two deities, Azo and Mazo.

Puzi and Kurindo

I am very doubtful as to the identity of Puzi. According to some accounts Puzi or Purzi was merely another name for Teikirzi; according to other accounts Puzi was a male deity and the husband of Teikirzi. In the following story Puzi is a female deity, inhabiting a hill near Nòdrs. She gave birth to a son called Kurindo. As soon as Kurindo was born he became fire. Puzi did not approve of this, as it seemed to show that the boy was too powerful, so she took a leaf of the kind called *kwagwi*, pounded it and mixed it with water and sprinkled it on the fire. The fire then turned back again into a boy who was bent to one side.

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Puzi said, "I will put you on a hill opposite to me." So she put him on the hill called Mopuvthut, near the village of Naters, and in order to make the hill higher she put three baskets of earth on the top, so that her son might be seen by everybody. 773 776

When Kurindo was on his hill he thought to himself, "My mother has treated me badly; she sprinkled me with water and quenched my power, and she has made me bent to one side; I do not like to be opposite to her." So he went away to a hill near Kanòdrs. This was before the time of Kwoten and before the Kamasòdrolam had run away (see p. 195). While Kurindo was living on this hill a strange tribe came to the hills, so Kurindo again moved and went away to the hill of Arsnur on the Mysore side, where he still lives.

There is a hill called Puthi on which a fire is lighted at certain times (see p. 291) and the god inhabiting this hill was, according to one account, the husband of Teikirzi. It is possible that Puthi and Puzi are the same, but I think it more probable that they are two separate gods, each having his own hill, Puthi being the husband of Teikirzi, and Puzi being the deity of this legend.

The following legends differ from the preceding in that they appear almost certainly to record the lives of deified men. The first legend deals with three men of different clans, but the sons of three sisters. The second deals with the life of Kwoto, and professes to be the history of a being of miraculous birth who came to be accepted by the gods, not only as one of their number, but as superior to themselves. These two legends were known far more thoroughly and universally than any of the preceding. It seems most probable that they are records of men who really lived, and that the life of each has become a nucleus round which have grown various miraculous and portentous incidents. 173 773 776

KWOTEN, TEIKUTEIDI, AND ELNÀKHUM

There were once three men, the children of three sisters. The eldest was Kwoten, who belonged to Pan, the second was Teikuteidi, who belonged to Taradr, and the youngest

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was Elnâkhum of Nòdrs. (According to one account the father of Kwoten was Purten, and his mother was Tikŏni of Keradr. They lived at Pan and Kiursi, and Kwoten was born at Pan. Purten died when Kwoten was thirty years old and Tikŏni died six years later.)

Kwoten had a wife called Kwoterpani. She did not like her husband, but preferred a man of Kanòdrs called Parden. One day Kwoten took his wife to a place called Timukhtar (near the spot where Sandy Nullah toll-bar now stands). He gave her only the loin-cloth called *tadrp* to wear, hoping that she would be cold and uncomfortable and would sleep with him, but she refused. Kwoten then took her to Kûdrîdjpül near Mulòrs, where there was a large wood. In this wood there was a tree of the kind called *külmän*, into which Kwoten climbed and made a bed. Below him, about three feet above the ground, he made a small bed for his wife, and under the tree, close to his wife's bed, he tied a big male buffalo. He did this because he thought a tiger might come to take the buffalo during the night when his wife would be frightened and would climb up the tree to his bed. During the night a tiger came and took away the buffalo, but even this did not induce the woman to go to her husband. Next morning Kwoten took his wife to Pòlâdri, which belonged to the Panol. This village was near Miuni, and there Kwoten became a *palkartmokh*. One day Kwoten was in the dairy and his wife in the hut when Parden came from Kanòdrs. Kwoten's wife knew that her husband was in the dairy, and endeavoured to prevent Parden from going into the hut by giving him buttermilk. Kwoten found that Parden had come, and sharpened a big knife to kill him, and when he came out of the dairy, Parden ran away towards Kanòdrs and Kwoten followed with the knife.

Kwoten's sister had married a Kars man and was living with him at Nasmiòdr, and at this time Kwoten's mother was staying at this place. As Parden ran away, pursued by Kwoten, they had to pass Nasmiòdr, and Kwoten's mother saw them, and said, "How is it that my son does not catch Parden?" Then she cursed Parden, saying "*On sati udair-nûdr, Kârkadith mul udith pâtmâ*"—viz., "If I have reverence

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to the village, may he be checked by the tree with thorns in the Kark wood." When Parden reached a stone now called Pardenkars, Kwoten caught him up and tried to kill him, but the knife struck the stone instead and split it into two pieces. Then Parden ran on to the wood called Kark, where he was caught by a tree with thorns (brambles) so that Kwoten was able to kill him.

When the news of the death of Parden reached Kanòdrs all the people were very much afraid, and all ran away except one old man and his wife. As the people were going, they sent a message to the Kotas at Tizgudr. Two Kotas took a grain pounder (*wask*) and went to Pòladri. When Kwoten was told that the Kotas were coming he went and hid himself. The Kotas came and stood near the village and were told that Kwoten had gone away. Then they told Kwoten's wife, who at this time was pregnant by Parden, to come out of the hut. She came out and went to the Kotas, who asked her where Kwoten was. She said she did not know, whereupon the Kotas were vexed, and pierced her belly with the pounder, so that she died. Her funeral took place at Tadendari, and that of Parden at Arâdr.

The people of Kanòdrs ran away to a place called Penasmalpet, near Malmathapenpet, and are known as the Kamasòdrolam. They have never been seen since, but the Todas have heard from various wandering tribes that they still exist and that they live on a hill from which they can see Kanòdrs, and that when the Kamasòdrolam see a fire at Kanòdrs they shave their heads and make a special kind of food called *ashkkarthpimi*.

When the Kanòdrs people ran away there remained behind one old man called Muturojen and his wife Muturach,[1] who were living in a village near Kanòdrs called Mîtâhârzi. When the people left, the old man went to the Kanòdrs dairy to churn the milk left there by those who had run away, and he stayed there, sleeping in the *kwotars* or calves' hut, as the dairyman should do at Kanòdrs. His wife used to come every day as far as a place called

[1] These are quite unlike Toda names, nor is the name of the village, Mîtâhârzi, like a Toda name.

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173 Pitipem, where she rubbed a place with buffalo-dung and sat down.

773 776 While sitting there one day an eagle (*kashk*) sat on her head, and she became pregnant, and went back to the village and gave birth to a son. When Kwoten heard of this he wished to kill the child and set out to do so. The old woman's daughter, who had married a Kars man, sent her husband to warn her parents that Kwoten was coming to kill them. The Kars man met Kwoten and ran away from him towards Kanòdrs, followed by Kwoten's dog. When he came to a hill above the village he called out that Kwoten was coming. When the old man heard him, he cursed Kwoten and those with him; the latter became stones and Kwoten himself (according to the story as told by the Kanòdrs people) was stung by honey bees and died. The people of Kanòdrs are descended from the son born to the old woman. If this old woman was not a Toda, as her name and that of her village suggest, this would seem to point to a tradition that the people of Kanòdrs are descended from an ancestor of a different race from the other Todas (see p. 640).

[578] Owing to the behaviour of Kwoten to the Kanòdrs people there has ever since been *karaivichi* (trouble) between the people of Pan and Kanòdrs. They do not intermarry and no Kanòdrs man may go to one of the chief villages (*etudmad*) of the Pan people nor may a Pan man go to an *etudmad* of Kanòdrs.

According to the above account Kwoten died after being cursed by the old man, but this is only a feature of the story as told by the Kanòdrs people, and in the account given by others Kwoten had many other adventures and finished his life in this world in a very different manner. He married a second wife, who, like the first, objected to her husband and preferred a man of Keradr, whose name was Keradrkutan. Kwoten lived with this wife at Kazhuradr, near Isharadr. At

[292] that time women wore the garment called *ăn*, which is dark grey like the *tuni* of the *palol*, and is now only used as a funeral garment.

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Keradrkutan used frequently to come to Kazhuradr, and this vexed Kwoten, who told his wife to have nothing to do with the man. She encouraged Keradrkutan, however, and this vexed Kwoten so much that he took off her *ān* and brought a thorny bush called *peshteinmul* and beat her all over with the bush, so that she became covered with blood. Kwoten at this time wore the garment called *tuni*, which he then took off, dipped it in water, and rubbed it all over his wife so that she became the colour of *tuni*, and then he gave her back her *ān* and went to his dairy. While he was in the dairy Keradrkutan came stealthily to the village. When the woman saw Keradrkutan she cried very bitterly and said, "Kwoten has beaten me very severely so that I shall die; come and see me." When Keradrkutan went into the hut, the woman died.

Before this time, when Kwoten was one day beating his wife, she abused him, saying, "*Talrs ti oditha vai, Kòlrs kûv oditha vai; en puspad*"—"You have no *ti*, you have no Kotas: why do you beat me?" This was to reproach Kwoten because the Pan people had no *ti* buffaloes and had no Kotas to make things for them. So Kwoten went and complained to his brother Teikuteidi. Teikuteidi was very sorry, and in order to remove the reproach he persuaded Elnâkhum of Nòdrs to give certain buffaloes of the kind called *unir* from the Nòdrs *ti*. Elnâkhum gave a two-year-old calf (*pòl*) and a one-year-old calf (*kar*), and also two bells (*mani*) to put on their necks. The two bells were called Tarskingg and Takhingg. The calves were then standing at Kuladrtho and were taken by Kwoten to the *tars poh* of Pan. He tied the two bells to one of the calves called Kazhi. These bells ought properly to have been tied to the buffalo called Enmars which remained behind at Kuladrtho. Then Enmars went to Anto and complained as follows:—

"*kî mâdr,*	*kî kevi,*	*ninkâtth*	*pòrâni*"[1]
"inferior neck,	inferior ear,	to your council	I will not come"

i.e., "I will not come to your presence with naked neck and

[1] ? *Pòdrâni* or *pudrâni*.

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ear." Anto told him not to grieve because he had lost the *mani*, and that instead

Melgarsöl	*teirpïlk*	*mudâ mâ*	*nî pud*
Melgars man	pïl of Anto tó	in front go may	you come

Antesh	*pep ïn*
at Anto	*pep* drink

i.e., "When you go to Anto, a Melgars man shall go in front of you to the *pïl* of Anto; when you come to Anto you shall drink *pep*." To this day, when the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* go in procession to Anto a Melgars man goes in front and the buffalo called Enmars drinks *pep* at Anto. At the same time Anto prophesied to Enmars that a misfortune would befall Teikuteidi, saying

"*wûrâdr*	*nols*	*Teikuteidi tan*	*ennâth*	*piriudkïn*,	*at vokh!*"
"whole year	day	himself	without numbering	I will divide,	go away!"

When Teikuteidi heard of this prophecy he was much grieved, and was very careful to do all the following ceremonies:—*erkumptthiti*, *upatiti*, *punkudrtiti*, *tatmadthkudrtiti*, *petkudrtiti* *mukudrtiti*, *adikudrtiti*, *parivkudrtiti*, *tatòtiti*, *mudòtiti*, *ponkastiti* and *irpalvusthi*—viz., sacrifice of calf, salt-giving, purification of *pun*, *tat* and *madth*, *pet*, *mu*, *adi* and *pariv*, etc.,[1] He performed all these ceremonies to escape the prophesied evil, for if he had succeeded in doing them all for the whole twelve months the prophecy would not have been fulfilled. On the very last day he forgot the prophecy and did not perform the ceremonies, but went to a place called Kirspem, where he sat under the shade of a *pïlmän*. There is a flower which blossoms on this tree in the rainy season only, and then the bees come. When Teikuteidi was sitting under the tree it was not the rainy reason and he was very much surprised to hear the humming of honey bees in the tree. The noise was being made by a *kasun*[2] which had taken the form of a

[1] I do not know exactly to which ceremonies *tatòtiti* and *mudòtiti* refer. The words mean "he takes the *tat*" and "he takes the *mu*," and evidently refer to some dairy ceremonial. *Ponkastiti* probably means that he kept *pon* throughout the year- *i.e.*, gave or sold nothing from his dairy during the year.

[2] A spirit which brings death (see p. 403).

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bee. He looked up to see if there were any flowers to attract the bees and could not see them, neither could he see any bees. Then he thought for a little while and remembered Anto's prophecy, so he did not remain under the tree, but went away to Kirsgòrs to attend the funeral of a *wursol* of Nòdrs (see p. 439). When the funeral was over Teikuteidi set out with companions to go to Kerkars (a place near Paikara). On the way they passed Kwongudrpem (near Kuudi). There he stopped and began to count his companions; he counted them, but forgot to include himself, saying that there were twenty when they started and now only nineteen, and he thought for a long time who the lost person could be. When he was looking in the direction of the funeral-place for the lost companion, he saw a lame man named Keikarskutan, who had a *purs* and *ab* (bow and arrow). Keikarskutan lay down and shot the arrow [1] and it came towards Teikuteidi with a sound like a bird's voice. Teikuteidi was looking to see what sort of bird it was when the arrow pierced both his eyes [2] and he died. When his companions found that he was dead, they held the funeral at Kerâs, and at the place where he died they made a mark with four stones like a cross, one for his head, one for his legs and one for each hand.

Kwoten was responsible for various features of the organisation of the Pan people. He divided them into two parts, the Panol and Kuirsiol, and also divided the *ti* into two parts, the *wars ti*, which was to belong to the Panol, and the *tars ti* to the Kuirsiol. He settled that the *palol* of the *ti* should be chosen from the people of Keadr. When there is a funeral in any clan a *palol* belonging to that clan must give up his office; hence, in order that his *ti* should never be without a *palol*, Kwoten separated the people of Keadr into two divisions, the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol, so that a member of one division might be *palol* if a member of the other division died.

[1] When Keikarskutan shot the bow and arrow he lay down. According to my informants, Keikarskutan lay down to shoot the bow and arrow because he was lame, but shot it in the ordinary way and did not use his legs in doing so. Breeks, who gives a brief version of this legend, was told that the arrow was shot by means of the legs and refers to this method as the ancient Indian custom.

[2] I give this as it was told.

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This was the origin of the division of the Keadr people into the Keadrol and the Kwaradrol.

One day Kwoten went to the *wars ti* of Pan and took buttermilk and slept there, and he did the same at the *arsaiir ti* of Kwòdrdoni, and since that day the people of Pan have had the privilege of taking buttermilk and sleeping at the places of each *ti*.

Kwoten also made two *teiks* (stones or wooden posts at which buffaloes are killed at the funerals), the *parsteiks* for the Panol and the *kirshteiks* for the Kuirsiol.

[177] It is owing to the example of Kwoten that the Todas now take meals in Kurumba villages. Before his time they had never done so, but Kwoten one day went to a Kurumba village and took food, and since that time all Todas have done so.

Kwoten was also the first Toda to go to a Kota village. He wanted one day to go to Mitur in the Wainad, and as it was getting dark and he was still on his way, he went to the Kota village of Kulgadi (Gudalur). He sat on their *tiin*, or bed, got new pots and food from them, and, taking both to the stream called Marspa or Marsva, he cooked and ate the food there, and then, returning to the village, slept on a Kota *tiin*. Since that time Todas have gone to that village, and have done as Kwoten did, but they will not go to any other Kota village,

One day Kwoten went with Erten of Keadr, who was spoken of as his servant, to Pòni, in the direction of Polkat (Calicut). At Pòni there is a stream called Palpa, the commencement of which may be seen on the Kundahs. Kwoten and Erten went to drink water out of the stream at a place where a goddess (*teu*) named Terkosh had been bathing. When Kwoten was about to drink from his hands, he found in the water a long golden hair; he measured the length of the hair and found it was greater than his height; he had a long stick in his hand called *pirs*, and found that the hair was longer than this stick. Then he asked Erten about it. Erten knew it was the hair of a *teu*, but thought it best not to tell Kwoten, and tried to persuade him that it was of no importance, and proposed that they should return home.

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Kwoten, however, insisted on finding out from whom the hair came, so they went along the stream. Kwoten went first and Erten had to follow him. As they went they met the bird called *karpûls* going from the right side to the left,[1] uttering its cry. Kwoten asked Erten why they met the bird, why it went from right to left, and why it made a cry. Erten replied as follows:—

"*Nôdr udoi* *kwudrpedrshai; Naraian tami kaipedrshai.*"
"Country (God) if there is you will die; Naraian will kill you."

In spite of this warning, Kwoten persisted in going on, and finally they came to Terkosh, who said to Kwoten, "Do not come near me, I am a *teu*." Kwoten paid no heed to this, but said; "You are a beautiful woman," and went and lay with her. Then Terkosh went away to her hill at Pòni, where she is now, and to this day the Kurumbas go there once a year and offer plantains to her and light lamps in her honour.

Kwoten and Erten returned home. Kwoten went to Kepurs, a village now in ruins, close to Nanjanad, and Erten went to a village called Kapthòri belonging to the Keadrol. Kwoten had about five hundred buffaloes grazing at Pazhmokh, near Kepurs. That night Kwoten slept on the *idrtul* over which he had spread a sambhar skin. He had on his finger a thick silver ring, which may still be seen at Naters and is used in the funeral ceremonies of men of the Pan clan. When the people awoke next morning they found that Kwoten had disappeared and that there only remained, lying on the sambhar skin, the silver ring and some *pug*.[2] Kwoten had been carried away by Terkosh and it was found that his five hundred buffaloes had also disappeared.

When Erten got up next morning he went to Kepurs and called out to the *wursol* of that place, "*Wursolia, tar tûrzhodthrska*"[3]—"O *wursol*, is the man up yet?" The *wursol*

[1] To meet this bird going from right to left is a bad omen; if going from left to right, it is a good omen.

[2] I could not find out the exact meaning of this word, but it appeared to be a name for the blood-stained froth which may come from the mouth of a dying man. In a sentence which occurs later the word appears as *pògh* (blood), but my informants were certain that *pug* itself is not blood.

[3] See p. 616.

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replied, "*Pülmâv tars pògh udisvichi*"—"On the sambhar skin blood is lying." Erten replied, "*Aroth pun pârs Pâlmän kwark putvai, nadrtivadr*"—"Take sixty vessels of milk to the wood of Palmän and pour out." So the *wursol* took sixty *pun* of milk and poured it out in the wood as Erten had ordered him.

Then since Kwoten had gone away, Erten did not want to live any more; he took a large creeper called *melkudri*, and tied it round his neck and tried to strangle himself, but when he pulled the creeper it broke into several pieces. He was much disappointed, but took another kind of creeper called *kakkudri*, but this broke in the same way. He then tried *teinkudri*, which also broke. Finally he took *kakhudri*,[1] and with this he succeeded in strangling himself. Then the *wursol* and all those who had helped in pouring out the milk [742] also strangled themselves with *kakhudri*. Since this time it has been a custom among the Todas to commit suicide by strangling.

[788] Kwoten and Terkosh are now living on two hills near Pòni, which face one another, and Erten has also become a *teu* and lives on a smaller hill near those of Kwoten and Terkosh. Whenever a Toda sees Kwoten's hill for the first time, he lies down on his right side and sings twice the following words: "*Seizâr zon, Kwoten âr zon, Seizâr zon, Terkosh âr zon.*" I could not discover the meaning of these words, and fancy that the Todas themselves do not know exactly what they mean. It is possible that *âr* is the word meaning six.

The history and fate of Teikuteidi, the second brother of Kwoten, has been given in the story of Kwoten. He belonged to Taradr, and according to one account the *kugvalir* of that [735] place were sent to him. Very little is related about the third brother, Elnâkhum. He had 1,800 buffaloes, but though he had so many, he was always going to other Todas and saying "I have nothing to milk; lend me a buffalo to milk," and all his life he used to beg. It is owing to his example that the Todas have begged ever since, and are not ashamed to do so even when they are rich.

[1] This is a creeper used in the funeral ceremonies.

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Elnâkhum is said to have built the long wall which still exists at the village of Nòdrs.

The story of Kwoten reads very much like that of a man who really lived and was deified after his death. The minute detail with which several of the natural incidents of his life are known might be held to point in this direction, but perhaps more important is the fact that his ring can still be seen, and that his spear was, according to Breeks, in existence not long ago. It looks as if Kwoten was a man who raised Pan from a comparatively insignificant position among the Todas to be one of their chief clans, and was the means of introducing several innovations in Toda custom. It is probable that he was deified after his death, and that some of the incidents of his life have acquired miraculous characters.

Kwoto or Meilitars

There was once a man belonging to Melgars who married a woman of Kanòdrs and took her to Melgars. When she became pregnant, the woman was taken by her husband to Kanòdrs. On the way back to Melgars they passed Ushadr, the place where the funeral ceremonies of Melgars men took place. They were standing in front of the funeral hut at that place when the man found a good *twadri* tree,[1] and, cutting three or four sticks from it, brought them to his wife, who stripped the bark from the sticks. While she was doing this, the pains of labour came on, and soon after she gave birth to a gourd (*kem*). Both husband and wife were very much ashamed, and they decided to say that a child had been born and had died, and the man went round to all the villages to say that this had happened and that the funeral would be held at Ushadr. Accordingly they had the *etvai-nolkedr* (first funeral ceremony) at Ushadr, the gourd being covered with a *putkuli* (cloak), so that it was taken to be the body of a child.

First the buffaloes were caught and killed, and then the supposed corpse was taken to the burning-place, where a fire

[1] Probably the tree or bush from which the material called *twadrinar* is manufactured by the Todas.

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173 was made and the gourd in its mantle was put on the fire.
773 The fire first burnt the cloak, and when it reached the gourd,
776 this broke into two pieces. One piece became a little baby, a boy, which took a piece of the burnt cloak and went away in the air to Neikhârs, where there is a big tree, under which it alighted. The other piece of the gourd was split into many fragments by the heat of the fire, and some of the fragments were driven with such force that they killed a kite which had come to the funeral. (To this day the kite does not eat the buffaloes at funerals at Ushadr, though it does so at other places.) The father and mother followed the child to Neikhârs, where they found it sitting on the tree.[1] The father and mother said to the child "*Ena, itvâ*"—"My son, come here," and the boy came down and went to them, and was taken away by his parents to Melgars.

As the parents and child were on their way to Melgars they met the buffaloes of the Kars *ti* going from Kòn to Enòdr. At that time the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars used to go with the *ti* buffaloes as far as a place called Irgûdrval, on the way between Kars and Enòdr. A Kars man went with the buffaloes, and he wore on his right wrist a gold bracelet (which is still kept at Kuzhu). At Irgûdrval there is a stone called Pidûtkars, and it was the duty of the man with the bracelet to sit on this stone and to make the Melgars buffaloes pass on the right side, the Kars buffaloes on the left side, and the *ti* buffaloes in the middle. When he had done this, the *palol* prayed at the stone, and then the buffaloes of Melgars and Kars turned back and the *ti* buffaloes went on to Enòdr. When the man and his wife saw the buffaloes coming, they waited near Pidûtkars, and while they were waiting the baby laughed. The father asked the boy, "Why do you laugh?" The boy answered, "I know the *kwarsam*[2]

[1] My informants could not say whether the boy went away in the air as a child or as a kite. The boy often assumed the form of a kite later, and it is tempting to suppose that the assumption of this form by the child was connected with the death of the kite, *i.e.*, that it was a case of transmigration. The fact that the child went away in the air and was found sitting on a tree makes it highly probable that it flew in the form of a kite, but my informants could not say that this was definitely part of the legend.

[2] The *kwarsam* is the name used in prayer (see Chap. X).

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of the *ti* buffaloes, *peruer persagun*; I know the *kwarzam* of the Melgars buffaloes, *narsüiln natüiln nâkh*; also I know the *kwarzam* of the Kars buffaloes, *inâtvidshti inâtvan*; that is why I laughed." After the buffaloes had gone on to Enòdr, the parents and child went on their way to Melgars. After they had been at Melgars fifteen days, they noticed that the child grew so rapidly that they could see him getting bigger from day to day, and he was soon grown up. He was called Kwoto.

One day Kwoto went into the buffalo pen and played there with the buffalo-dung, so that he was covered with the dust of the dung. His father rebuked him and was blowing on him to get rid of the dust when the boy changed into a kite and flew away. The next day he resumed human form, but from that time he only stayed in the village at times, and at other times stayed in the woods. This went on for about eight days, and then he refused to take food from the village and became a companion of the gods.

At this time the gods used to hold councils on the slopes below a hill called Tikalmudri. The place where they sat was called Pòlkab. When the gods were holding council at Pòlkab, Kwoto went and sat on the top of the hill Tikalmudri. Then the gods said to one another, "How is it that he sits on the top of the hill while we sit below? It is not at all good." They consulted together and decided to kill him. So three or four of the gods went to Kwoto and said in a cunning way, "We will show you your country" (*i.e.*, the place which should belong to him; each of the gods had his appointed place). So they took him to a steep precipice called Teipâper, and having deceived him that they would show him his country, they threw him down. Kwoto, however, was not killed, but took the form of a kite and flew back to Tikalmudri. Then all the gods were surprised that he was not dead, but decided to try and kill him again, and they took him to the hill Kòdrtho, near Nidrsi, and threw him down. (The hill Kòdrtho was inhabited by the god Kòdrtho.) Kwoto was not killed, but pulled up a bamboo tree with its roots, and flew back and struck Kòdrtho on the head, and Kòdrtho's head split into three pieces. One of these pieces is now the well-known

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173 hill, the Drug, seen from Coonoor, while the other two pieces
773 are eminences on the ridge running out to the Drug.
776 Kwoto then returned to Tikalmudri. The gods said, "We cannot kill him; he has some power; let us try his power." So they gave him the following task:

"Peiwi	*tirilvd,*	*ptdtr*	*ptrickud?'*
Low	turn	high	fill?

i.e., "Can he turn the low stream and fill the high stream?" (According to another account the words in which the task was given were, "*Alvoi tiriki, Kalvoi ptrsvôka*," *i.e.*, "Can he turn the stream Alvoi and fill the stream Kalvoi?")

Kwoto then took a huge stone, which may still be seen near Kanòdrs, and put it in the stream so that it flowed upwards. Then the stream begged Kwoto, "We are going upwards according to your order, but it is very difficult for us; we wish to be allowed to go our ordinary way." So Kwoto took away the stone and the stream resumed its natural course.

The gods saw what Kwoto had done and decided to try his power in another way, so they said:

"Kindr	*dt,*	*kutti*	*kurs*	*ûtîa?"*
Sun	tie,	stone	chain	can he do?

i.e., "Can he tie the sun with a stone chain?" Kwoto then took a stone chain and tied it to the sun and brought the sun down to Nern, near Kanòdrs, and tied it to a tree. When the sun wanted to drink, Kwoto took it to the stream Kalvoi, from which the sun drank, and there is now to be seen a hole in this stream at the place where the sun drank.[1] Then Kwoto took the sun to a pool surrounded by trees called Nerpoiker, also near Kanòdrs. While the sun was tied in this way, it was dark both in this world and in Amnòdr. Then the people of Amnòdr came to the gods and asked why they allowed Kwoto to do these things, and said that they were now living in thick darkness, and they begged that Kwoto should be allowed to put the sun back in its right place. Then the gods went to Kwoto and asked him to put the sun

[1] This place is close to the spot at which the path from Pàhkwoàht (Bikkapattimand) to Kodanad crosses a stream soon after leaving the former village.

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back, and they acknowledged that he was a god and the most powerful of the gods. They said that he should no longer be called Kwoto, but that his name should be Meilitars, because he was superior to all the gods; also that he should go "*parnur nòdr, patnur nòdr*," "to 1,600 places, 1,800 places," *i.e.*, he should not belong to one place only, like the other gods, but should go everywhere.

Then Meilitars put back the sun in its proper place.

(According to another version, the task of tying the sun was given in the words:

"*K'ènèr*	*èl*,	*pirnagum*	*patrèkè*?"
Male buffalo	tie,	sun	can he catch?

The sun was said to have been at this time sitting on the back of a male buffalo, and Kwoto was told to tie the buffalo and catch the sun. According to this account Kwoto first used an iron chain, *kabastagars*, which was melted by the heat of the sun. Next he tried a bronze (?) chain called *kuchtagars*, which also melted. Then he used a stone chain, or *karstagars*, which did not melt, and he succeeded in tying the sun with this. This version of the story corresponds with that given by Breeks.)

Kwoto or Meilitars was closely connected with two clans, those of Melgars and Kanòdrs. It is said to be owing to the fact that Kwoto was a Melgars man that Melgars people have the special privileges and duties which are peculiar to that clan. At any rate, this is the view held by the people of Melgars. At Kanòdrs, the name of Kwoto occupies a prominent place in the prayer of the dairy, and several of the special features of the ritual of the Kanòdrs dairy are said to exist in consequence of the many wonderful things which Kwoto had done in its neighbourhood. When new buttermilk has to be made for Kanòdrs, it is made at a place called Kautarmad, far away, because Kwoto made new buttermilk there, and in the ceremony at this place earth is taken from certain places from which Kwoto took it.

Kwoto or Meilitars is the hero of several stories, in none of which does he play a very creditable *rôle*.

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

At one time the Todas used to go to and fro between this

173 world and Amnòdr. Those who were dead stayed permanently in Amnòdr, but living people could go to visit them
●773 and return. One day Punatvan of Kars went with Meilitars
776 to Amnòdr. They stayed there two days and two nights, and then Meilitars came away without Punatvan's knowledge. At that time the people of Kars were living at Nasmiòdr, so Meilitars went to Nasmiòdr and said that Punatvan intended to stop in Amnòdr, and wished the Kars people to perform the funeral ceremonies for him, killing thirty buffaloes. So the Kars people caught thirty buffaloes, the chief one being called Enmon. Round the neck of Enmon were hung the two bells (*wurxuli mani*) called Karsod and Kòni. They cut a piece of stick and put it in a *patkuli* to represent the dead body and then killed the thirty buffaloes. As the buffaloes were on their way to Amnòdr, they met Punatvan on his way back. Punatvan asked the chief buffalo, Enmon, "Why do you come here?" Then Enmon told him what Meilitars had done. The man and buffalo put their heads together and cried, and their tears became a pool of water.[1] Then Punatvan took the two bells from the neck of Enmon and sent them back to Nasmiòdr, where they are kept to this day, but he returned to Amnòdr with the buffaloes. Then Ön, the ruler of Amnòdr, ordered that in future no one should return to the world of the living from Amnòdr, and since that day the Todas have not been able to go to and fro between the two worlds as they used to do.

173 At the present time the people of Keradr have no *ti*. Once
773 they had a *ti* which they lost through the action of Kwoto, who
776 went one day to their dairy at Tikìrs, near Mòdr, and, hiding the *kaltmokh* in the wood, took his place. When the *palol* milks, it is the duty of the *kaltmokh* to let out the calves and send them to the *palol*. Kwoto did not do this properly, but sent more calves than were required, so the *palol* became angry and took his stick (*kwoiwìrtpel*) to beat the supposed *kaltmokh*, but the stroke missed and fell on the *palol* himself.

000 Another day the *palol* told Kwoto to pour out the re-

[1] This pool has been converted into the Marlimund reservoir, the source of the water-supply of Ootacamund.

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Another day the palol told Kwoto to pour out the re-

mainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the buttermilk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends small-pox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mòvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

After giving *mòvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to one another.

Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy myself which was correct.

According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

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pretended that he was lame and consented to eat some of the flesh of the buffalo. He also told them that he was a god and said that he would dance before them, and did so like a lame man. He told the Kurumbas that whenever he came in the future, he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas; and now the Kwoto *tirsol*, or diviner (see Chap. XII), when he dances, does so first to the Kurumbas, and when he dances before them he does so as if he were lame.

After this Kwoto disappeared and since that time has not been seen. He is said to live in a temple at Mitur, but "wherever there is a god, there also is Kwoto, or Meilitars."

According to another account, this story was told of the people called Panins (*Panyas*), but in this version Kurumbas were also said to be present, though it was the Panins who were made to eat the flesh.

According to a third account, obtained, however, from an untrustworthy informant, Kwoto practised this deception on the gods themselves, and made them eat *the flesh of a calf* while only pretending to eat himself. This was said to have been the starting-point of the *evkwoptthpimi* ceremony, and Kwoto was said to have killed the calf with the same formalities as are now used in this ceremony. All other Todas strenuously denied that Kwoto made the gods eat flesh. There was, however, so much reticence about the *evkwoptthpimi* ceremony and its history, that I am not confident that Kwoto was not in some way connected with its origin, and that the version of my untrustworthy informant may in this case have been correct.

Other Gods

773 776

There are very many other deities. Of the following I can give little more than the names.

Atinto is the *nâdvaiki* of the Kwödrdosi clan and also of Perbkars. He lives near the chief villages of these clans, and has a temple of which the priest is said to be an Irula, and Todas sometimes give to this god offerings of clarified butter.

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773 776 Konto or Konteu is the *nàdrudchi* of the Panol, and lives on the hill Konto, to which fire is set by the *palol* of the Kars or Pan *ti* (see Chap. XIII).

Kòdrtho is the *nàdrudchi* of Nidrsi. He played a part in the history of Kwoto, and according to some accounts he was the *mun*, or maternal uncle, of this god.

Near the source of the Paikara river, there is a cave in which there is a pool called Alvoi. Sometimes this pool gives forth a loud bubbling noise, and this is believed to be due to a *tan* dipping himself in the water. The name of the god is Alvoi Kalvoi, Kalvoi, situated at some distance from the pool, being a hill on which the god usually lives.

There are other gods about whose histories I have no information. Tiligush is the *nàdrudchi* of Pàm and Karadr of Taradr. Pòrzo inhabits a hill near Nòdrs, and Karzo, a hill near Kars, and the names of other gods, such as Kaladrvan, Teikhun, Peigwa, Karmunteu, Kondilteu and Mundilteu, are mentioned in the prayers of the *ti* dairies.

114 177 776 In addition to these, who are certainly true Toda gods, the Todas also pay respect to the gods of the other tribes on the Nilgiris, while occasionally the names of Hindu gods are mentioned in their ceremonies. If a Toda be asked if he worships one of these gods, he will almost certainly assent, but at the same time he distinguishes them from his own gods. The only deity who seemed to be confused with their own gods by some of the Todas was Petkon, whose Badaga name was said to be Betakarasami. Breeks calls him Betikhan, and states that he is a hunting god; and according to some Todas Petkon was a son of Teikirzi.

Previous accounts of the Toda gods have been very erratic. Some writers have given the names of Hindu gods. Breeks gives the names of dairies as those of gods, though he also records abbreviated versions of several of the stories given in this chapter. The most curious account, however, of the Toda gods is that of Marshall, who gives[1] the following as the names of five gods which are muttered when milk is put on the sacred bells:—Ânmungâno, Godingâtho, Beligoshu, Dekaltria, and Kazudâva. We puzzled over these words for

[1] P. 144.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

history of the dairy. *Eikisiw* is the *kwarsam* of a buffalo which was one day being milked at Kuudr when some of the milk was spilt on the ground. From that day the ground became swampy, and on digging, a spring of water was found which has ever since been used as the dairy spring and is called *kisutr*. The two following *kwarsam* refer to incidents of which I have no record. *Karstam* is the *kwarsam* of a buffalo which was one day grazing on the hill Kakathâmûk when it began to bellow and could not be induced to stop; the people tried to take it back to the pen, but it would not go and died on the hill, and has ever since been remembered in the prayer. These *kwarsam* are followed by two referring to trees of ceremonial importance—one the tree by which is buried the *nu* on the integrity of which the continuity of the dairy procedure depends, while the other is connected with the sacred bell.

Then follow the *kwarsam* of a hill on which there are cairns and that of the sacrificial place of the village. The prayer concludes with two *kwarsam* of a different kind. The first refers to the act of the goddess Teikirzi, who portioned the buffaloes and assigned to each clan its share. In so doing we have seen that she touched each buffalo on the back with her wand, saying in each case to whom the buffalo should belong, and this act is commemorated in the prayer in the form, "for the sake of the dividing of the chief buffaloes with the wand." The last *kwarsam* is that of the calf, from which the ordinary buffaloes or *putitr* of Kuudr are descended, but I was unable to ascertain the meaning of the words, except *naikh*, which is the name of a three-year-old buffalo.

In the Kuudr prayer several of the *kwarsam* refer to incidents of a more or less miraculous nature which are believed to have happened at the village where the prayer is used, while the last *kwarsam* but one refers to one of the chief events of Toda mythology.

It will be noticed that many of the *kwarsam* used in this prayer correspond very closely to the names in ordinary use. Some, such as *keitsidi* and *trikhkwadiki*, are the same words as those in general use, while others differ from

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p. 116. Then follows a *kwarzam* relating to an incident which is probably recent. The *palol* of this *ti* used to make seven heaps of the dung of the buffaloes. There is a law that the dung should not be sold, which the *palol* disobeyed, and soon after a fire broke out suddenly from the seven heaps, and this event is commemorated in the prayer by means of the *kwarzam* meaning "seven heaps of buffalo-dung, fire set buffaloes," and is included among the *kwarzam* relating to buffaloes, probably because there was a belief that the anger of the buffaloes was the cause of the fire.

The buffalo *kwarzam* are followed by eleven referring to the bells of the *ti* and to the dairy, pen and spring of Makars, and these are followed by *kwarzam* referring to the other places of the *ti*—viz., Enòdr, Pars, Neradr, and Kòn. In each case there are said the *kwarzam* of the dairy, pen, spring, and place except in the case of Neradr, where for some reason the *kwarzam* of the spring is omitted.

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The feature of the Makars prayer which is especially interesting is the reference to legend in the *kwarzam*. This reference occurs in the Kuudr prayer and in those of Kanòdrs and Anto, but the references are far more elaborate in the Makars prayer. These references were very useful in providing incidental confirmation of the details of legends previously obtained, while in other cases they put me on the track of stories which I might otherwise have failed to obtain. One point of interest connected with them is that, in the absence of the legends, they might easily be supposed to be meaningless sentences. We have seen that there is reason to believe that the Todas are forgetting much of their mythology, and if the legends referred to in the Makars prayer should be forgotten, these *kwarzam* would become meaningless formnlæ. This appears to have happened already in some cases; there were certain *kwarzam* of which I could obtain no translation; thus, all the *kwarzam* of the clans and villages were of this nature and could not be explained, though they almost certainly had a definite origin. A good instance of a *kwarzam* which is on its way towards a similar fate is that at the end of the Kuudr prayer. The meaning of only one word was clear —viz., *nddh*—while *maj* was probably the word for cloud, and

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the *kwarzam* appears to refer to some incident of legend in which a three-year-old calf and a cloud were concerned, but I could obtain no record of the incident, nor of the legend of which the incident was a feature.

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I have treated these formulæ of the dairy as prayers, and I think there can be very little doubt that they are of the nature of supplications, and are believed to invoke the aid of the gods in protecting the sacred buffaloes. It must be confessed, however, that there is no actual evidence in the formulæ of direct invocation of the gods. The name of no god is mentioned in the vocative form. In some prayers there is barely mention of a god at all, if the term 'god' be limited to the anthropomorphic beings of the hill-tops.

The exact relation between the formula and the gods largely depends on the exact meaning of the word *idith*, which is not quite clear. But, whatever the meaning of this word, it is evident that it is used in exactly the same way in the case of a god as in the case of a buffalo, a place, a dairy vessel, or other even meaner object.

Perhaps the nearest approach to an appeal to gods in the prayer is in the words at the end, in which the names of certain gods are mentioned, followed by the words *âtham idith eink tânenmâ*, "for their sake may it be well for us."

There is little doubt that the Todas offer prayers to their gods in their ordinary daily life, altogether apart from the dairy ritual. I was told by one man that when anyone leaves an *ctudmad* he should pray that he may return safely, and in this case my informant said that he prayed to Teikirzi. Unfortunately I did not ask the exact form of the prayer, and do not know whether the goddess was invoked by name or whether *kwarzam* were uttered of the same form as in the prayer of the dairy. We may, however, be confident that the idea of supplication to the gods is not foreign to the Toda mind.

We shall see later that in the formulæ used in Toda sorcery, the names of gods are mentioned, followed by the same word *idith* which is used in the dairy formulæ. In the magical formulæ the evidence of appeal to deities is somewhat stronger than in the case of the dairy formulæ,

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time were thought to be sufficient for his purpose. It is also possible, however, that the similarity of prayer and spell points to a time when the functions of priest and sorcerer were combined in one person; that as the restrictions which hedge round the life of the dairyman-priest increased, it became impracticable for him to exert his magical functions, and that there has therefore come about a differentiation of function, though the means used continue to show a close resemblance. 771 788 754 793

It may perhaps be said that the clear evidence of the supposed influence of the gods takes the facts which have been described in this chapter out of the realm of magic and puts them in that of religion. The Toda's methods of procuring ill to his neighbours are clearly in their essential nature of a magical kind, but their close blend with religious ideas is the reason why I have considered them in their present place.

OMENS

The Todas do not pay much attention to omens, but meeting certain animals is regarded as lucky or unlucky. The most definite instance of an omen-animal is a black bird called *karpüls*, which is said to be the Indian cuckoo. If a Toda is going on an errand and sees this bird on the left side, he takes it as a bad omen and turns back; if on the right side, it is a good omen. This bird appears twice in Toda legend. It warned Püv, the son of Ön, and in the last scene of the life of Kwoten, it appeared going from left to right. It is noteworthy that when Erten is interpreting the omen in this legend, he brings in Naraian (Narayan), who is certainly not a Toda deity, and this suggests that the whole incident of the omen-bird may be an accretion to the legends, and that the belief in omens has been borrowed from the Badagas or other Hindus. 787 925 779 177

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When Teitnir performed the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony for my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful. 234

The *erkumptthpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Harkness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed by myself. He calls the sacrifice "*yerr-gompts*." A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Muzzy in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kona shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Muzzy, and myself. 114 782 796

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf. 773 782 796

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

[1] This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

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I think it is possible that Teitnir was right, and that the denial of the other Todas was due to their reluctance that I should know the real belief about this ceremony. Even if not correct, Teitnir's account is valuable as a record of an ingenious example of Toda reasoning.

At the ceremony I witnessed there was one feature of some interest. When it was found that the calf had not been killed by the blow with the log of *tudr* wood, the animal was belaboured over the testicles. This procedure had not been included in the account given to me before the ceremony, and I could not discover how far it is an established custom to kill the animal in this way if it is not killed by the blow. The interest arises from the fact that in the ancient Vedic sacrifices, the animal was killed by stopping its mouth and beating it severely ten or twelve times on the testicles till it was suffocated.[1] I have not been able to discover whether this method of killing an animal is still practised in India. If so, it has probably been borrowed by the Todas; but if not, this ancient Indian method may have been preserved by the Todas. I did not observe that the mouth of the calf was stopped at the sacrifice which I witnessed, but this was probably done.

The Erkumptthpimi Prayer of Kuudr

This consists of clauses of the form *Atthkark per ma* in which the following *kwarzam* of villages are mentioned: *Atthkâr* and *Ônerz* (Kuudr), *Kidnârz* and *Toarsòdri* (Ars), *Moskar* and *Manîthi* (Òdr), *Keikòdr* and *Karsûlh* (Melkòdr), *Kwoteinerz* and *Kwelpushol* (Kiudr), *Tashtakhkush* (Pirsush), *Kwotirkwirg* (Kwirg), *Toarskâria* (Karia), *Pârnerz* and *Ttindzuk* (Miuni). These are followed by the final two clauses, *karstêram parstêram, Nòtlrzk êr usht md.*

The chief features of this prayer are that the chief villages of the Kuudrol have each two *kwarzam* and that two *kwarzam* of Òdr, a Nòdrs village, are included (see p. 647).

[1] Haug's *Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bombay, 1863, vol. ii., p. 85, note 11.

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775 and they run no danger from this source, however bad they may have been.

The people of Taradr are said to have a separate Amnòdr near Külvari or Perithi, and they do not travel by Nidzmûtkârs or by Panîpikârs, nor do they cross Pûvûrkin. They have no dangers by the way, and however wicked they may have been they go to their Amnòdr in security. Men, women and buffaloes all follow the same path.

Origin of Funeral Customs

773 763 The various funeral customs are said to have been partly ordained by Teikirzi. The following story is given as the account of their origin :—

At first no Toda died. After a time a Piedr man died at the village of Erparskòdr. He died in his hut and the Todas took his body to the funeral place, but on the way they laid it by a heap of stones between Erparskòdr and Umgas. The stones are still to be seen, and are called Möditikars.[1] While the body lay by these stones, some of the people were weeping bitterly; others were dancing and singing, and others were going to drive buffaloes. Teikirzi, who saw the people weeping, took pity and came to bring the dead man back to life. When she came to the place she found that though some of the people were crying, others seemed quite happy. She liked what she saw, and decided not to raise the dead man, so she went away and ordained that in the future some should cry at funerals and others should be happy, and her laws as to the conduct of the funeral ceremonies have been followed ever since.

Then the people took up the dead body and went on to Kûrûvòrs, near Umgas, where they performed the funeral ceremonies.

764 In the various complicated ceremonies described in this chapter there are certain features which may be briefly discussed.

192 [1] *Möditi* is the name applied to all the women of other tribes. It is perhaps suggestive that this name should be used for a stone connected with the goddess Teikirzi.

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objects have attained their sacred character, at any rate in part, by a process of transference of sanctity from the buffaloes by which they were borne. 234 778

It is in favour of this view that the buffaloes seem at one time to have been more sacred, or to have received more definite signs of reverence than at the present time. The evidence of the legends points to a time when buffaloes were regarded as having anthropomorphic characters, and they probably indicate a belief in the sacred nature of these animals. When the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti* first came from Amnòdr, they talked like men, and the buffalo who founded the *ti mod* at Makars was a very human animal. [773]

In his book, Captain Harkness (p. 16) states that as the buffaloes of the village are about to be penned for the night, the whole family, male and female, salute them by bringing the hand to the face. So far as I could ascertain, this is no longer done, and the only definite sign of reverence paid to the buffaloes, so far as I could learn, is the salutation made, partly to them and partly to the sun, by the *palol* when he leaves his dairy. Whenever in my journeys about the hills we came across herds of sacred buffaloes, even those of the *ti*, no salutation or sign of respect was made by the Todas who were with me, though a dairy, especially if it contained a *mani*, would receive obvious signs of veneration. Except in connexion with ceremonial there was nothing in the behaviour of the Todas towards their buffaloes to indicate that they were sacred animals, and it seems probable that the sanctity of the buffaloes has been to a great extent transferred, partly to the *mani* and partly to the milk given by the animals. 234 778 788

The milk is undoubtedly regarded as a sacred substance. There are distinct restrictions on its use which become more onerous as one ascends in the scale of dairies, and we have seen that there is reason to believe that the whole complicated daily ritual of the dairy may be designed to neutralise the dangers attendant on the conversion of the milk into substances which may be used by the outside world. 234 778

Throughout this book I have spoken of sacred buffaloes to distinguish them from those which take no part in the

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Only on one point is it clear that the Todas make no direct gain from their buffaloes. When once a buffalo is dead, the Todas seek no further profit, and the carcases become the property of the Kotas. But even here there is an indirect gain, for the bodies of the buffaloes form a large part of the equivalent received by the Kotas for the many services they render to the Todas.

Other Animals

The Todas have so highly developed the cult of one animal that they show few traces of belief in the sanctity of others. I will put together here the whole of the scanty evidence which I possess concerning their relations with animals in general.

The Tiger.—The Todas have a legend that at one time the tiger used to watch over the buffaloes for them during the day and hand over his charge in the evening. One day the tiger was very hungry and its hunger made it angry. When it brought the buffaloes back to the village it saw a cat catching a rat. Then the tiger asked the cat for some of the flesh, but the cat said, "There is no fool like you; why don't you eat some of the buffaloes you look after?" At that time the tiger usually slept at the village, but on this evening it went into the wood and at midnight came slowly back and took one of the buffaloes out of the pen, and since then it has always done this.

According to another legend (see p. 185), buffaloes have been killed by tigers ever since the *arsaiir* of the Kwòdrdoni *ti* failed to come to the general gathering which assembled to bid farewell to Ön when he went to rule over Amnòdr.

Jervis[1] states that the natives of the hills salaam to the tiger. He does not say definitely that it is the Todas who do this, but it is probable that he is referring to them. He also states that the women of the village throw themselves on their knees before a tiger which has been killed, and touch his bristles with their foreheads. I do not know whether these practices are still followed.

[1] Falls of the Cavery, 1834, p. 49.

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At an ordinary village the stones usually belong to one of the following classes:—

(*a*) Stones to mark off boundaries or places, such as the *majvatvaikars*, marking the path or spot used by the women in fetching buttermilk from the dairy.

(*b*) Stones used in the ceremonies in which offerings are made, the *irnörtkars* and the *pilinörtkars*.

(*c*) Funeral stones, at which the buffaloes are killed. These are, of course, only found at funeral villages, but there are certain other stones, such as the *imudrikars*, which may be found in any village. Such a stone may mark the spot where the body is laid, or may even, as in the case of the *imudrikars* of Kars, form a mound on which the body is laid.

(*d*) Stones in or near the *tu* or buffalo pen, such as the *mutchudkars* and *pudothkars*. I do not know the origin or use of these, but in some villages there are stones in the pen marking the places where the *mu* or dairy vessels are buried, and it is possible that the above stones are in some way connected with the buried dairy-vessels.

(*e*) The lifting stone or *tukitthkars*. This is usually a large round stone which sometimes resembles in appearance stones of a ceremonial character.[1]

(*f*) Commemorative stones. The *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs (see Fig. 13), and certain stones with the same name lying between Nòdrs and Teidr, had their origin in events connected with the death of a man belonging to the village of Teidr who was once *wursol* at Nòdrs. When he was told to milk one of the buffaloes, he replied, "If I milk it, the milk will not fill this place," pointing to a small depression on his thumb. Still the people told him to milk, and when he did so the milking-vessel was completely filled. Then the *palikartmokh* was very angry, and, taking the wand which the *wursol* was carrying, he struck him so that he flew in the air and fell down midway between Nòdrs and Teidr. When the people came to the place they found that the man was dead, and they tried to take up his body and carry it to the funeral place. But

[1] Burton (*Goa and the Blue Mountains*, p. 316) brands the Todas as inveterate liars, because, evidently owing to some misunderstanding, he was told that a "putting stone" was the "grandfather of the gods."

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the body would not move and so they held the funeral on the spot and made a *tu*. At the entrance of the *tu* they placed two women carrying pounders[1] in place of the posts or *tüli*, and these women were changed into stones and their pounders became the *tasth* of the entrance of the pen. The stones which are now found on the spot are the remains of the pen and the *teidrtolkars* of Nòdrs marks the spot where the *wursol* milked the buffalo.

In the village of Tovalkan there is a mound shown in Fig.

FIG. 59.—THE MEMORIAL OF KEIREVAN.

59 which is much like the *imudrikars* of Kars, but it is of modern origin, having been made to mark the spot where Keirevan (26) fell out of a tree and was killed.

(*g*) Stones connected with special features of the dairy ceremonial. I only know of one stone of this kind at a village, the *pârsatthkars* of Nidrsi, on which the *palikartwokh* puts milk every morning and evening.

Stones are often used for more than one purpose; thus, the

[1] It will be remembered that at the *amrumkeir* of a woman, two women stand at the entrance of the *amrum* one of whom holds a pounder in her hands.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE GODS

The Toda gods are definitely anthropomorphic beings, who are believed to have lived in this world before man existed. Both man and buffalo were created by the gods, and the Todas seem to picture a time when gods, men, and buffaloes lived together on the Nilgiri Hills, and the gods ruled the men. At this time the gods seem to have lived much the same kind of life as the Todas themselves. Ön was *palol* to the buffaloes of the Nòdrs *ti*, his son Püv was *palikartmokh* at Kuudr, and other gods are believed to have filled dairy offices. From the earliest times, however, the gods were connected with the hills—*i. e.*, they were believed to dwell on the summits of the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. At first they seem to have mixed at times in human society and at other times to have retired to their hill-tops. The earliest of the gods was Pithi, who was born in a cave, and the Todas and many of their buffaloes were created by his son Ön and his wife. Later death came to the gods in the person of Püv, the son of Ön and Ön followed Püv to the world of the dead, called Amnòdr, of which he has since been the ruler. He left behind him as predominant among the deities Teikirzi, a goddess, who ruled over the Todas. It is to her that the origin of most of the Toda institutions is ascribed, and there is some reason to think that she was predominant among the gods even before Ön went to Amnòdr.

The Todas seem to believe that Teikirzi was at one time a person living among them, giving laws and regulating the affairs of the people. At the present time she is believed to be all-pervading; and, though she has her special hill, she does not dwell there only, as in the case of all but one of the other Toda deities.

There seem to have been many other gods contemporaneous with Ön and Teikirzi, and certain of these are believed to have been related to these deities and especially to Teikirzi. The gods are believed to be very numerous: the Todas speak of the 1,600 gods, the 1,800 gods, but it would seem that these expressions are used in the sense of "an infinite

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773 number." The gods are believed to have held their councils,
776 meeting on some special hill, to which each god came from
823 his own hill-top. The hill of Pòlkab, near Kanòdrs, and the village of Miuni are both renowned as meeting places of the gods.

There is a very definite association between the Toda gods and the hills of the Nilgiri plateau. Nearly every one of the gods has his hill where he dwells, and often when speaking of the gods the Todas seem to identify the god with the hill. There are two river gods, Teipakh and Pakhwar, associated with the two chief streams of the district, but there is some reason to believe that even these gods have their hills where they sometimes live, while at other times they inhabit or are identified with their streams. In the case of Teipakh, the god and the natural object seem to be very closely identified, and Kuzkarv, growing up in the river Teipakh, is said to be sitting in the lap of his maternal uncle. Again, one god is associated with a bubbling pool, but he also has his hill-top and is believed only to visit the pool on certain occasions. There can be little doubt that most of the Toda gods are hill-deities and that the association of the gods with hills is so strong that even the gods of streams and pools may be assigned their hills in general belief.

172 There is one important feature which is said to be common to all the hills inhabited by deities. They all have on their summits the stone circles which the Todas call *pun*. My informants were very definite about this and fully understood that these stone circles corresponded to the cairns and barrows opened by Breeks and others.

I was not able to examine into the question for myself and ascertain whether the circles called *pun* were actually present on the god-inhabited hills, but I have no reason to doubt that this was usually the case. Most writers on the Todas have been inclined to suppose that the cairns and barrows, with their contents, were in no way connected with the Todas, and they have based this opinion largely on the indifference of the Todas to these monuments. The people who are so jealous of their dairies that they will not allow anyone to enter or even view their contents, will allow any stranger to open the

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776 very vague. On the other hand, certain gods of obviously more recent origin seem to be replacing, to some extent, the older gods. The lives of Kwoten and Meilitars can be related by many in great detail, but though they seem to inspire more interest among the Todas I cannot say that I observed anything to show that they receive any special worship or reverence. [773] Meilitars is especially mentioned in the Kanòdrs prayer, but this would only put him on a level with many objects of no great amount of sanctity. The attitude of the Todas towards these two beings seemed to me to be rather that of people towards heroes than towards gods, though the mythology has raised them to the level of the gods.

771 Nevertheless, the idea of "god" is highly developed among
776 the Todas and I am inclined to believe that the most satisfactory explanation of the Tòda deities is that the people came to the Nilgiri Hills with a body of highly developed gods; that round these gods have clustered various legends connected with the Toda institutions; that these old gods have gradually through long ages lost their reality; that certain heroes have been raised to the ranks of the gods and that the lives of these heroes, founded to some extent on actual fact, have more interest to the Todas and are remembered and passed on while the legends of the older gods are gradually becoming vaguer in the progress towards complete obliviscence; that the gods as a whole, however, are still regarded as the authors of punishment and that there is a tendency to make an abstraction of the power of the gods.

The Todas, then, show us a stage of religious belief in which gods once believed to be real, living among men and intervening actively in their affairs, have become shadowy beings, apparently less real, invisible and intervening in the affairs of men in a mysterious manner and chiefly in the case of infraction of the laws which they are still believed to have given.

771 The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in
788 which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared. The Todas are an example of a people whose lives are altogether dominated

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588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol*
616 went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively
837 *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings), each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

[114] The *mokkthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[723] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokkthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming
837 a *mokkthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage. A garment is given or promised and the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

[1] For a full account see p. 366.

[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

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In the legend of Kwoten, this hero kills Pardeni, but so far as I know this is the only example of murder, either legendary or historical, among the Todas. The Todas may take part in the murder of a Kurumba who has been working magic, but this is of course no crime from the Toda point of view, but an obvious method of self-defence, for it is believed that the only way of stopping Kurumba sorcery is to kill the sorcerer.

With the exception of the occurrences accompanying the transference of wives, which I have already considered, I heard of no case of assault by one Toda on another.

Similarly, I heard of no offence against property except in connexion with the dairy. So far as I know, ornaments or clothing are never stolen. In the list of offences against the dairy, stealing ghi is included, but it was clear that this is regarded as sacrilege, as an offence against the dairy and not as an offence committed against the individual.

Suicide

In the legend of Kwoten there is a record of suicide by strangling, and since the suicide of Erten and his confederates this is said to have been a recognised custom among the Todas. Several instances have occurred in recent times; thus, about four generations ago, at a village called Podzkwar, near Taradrkirsi, a woman and her husband had a dispute and the woman strangled herself. About three generations ago a man strangled himself in the dairy at Melgars, and when a Toda is very angry he will threaten to commit suicide, saying "*on sutdr kati kêdraividikin*"—"my neck tying, I will die."

Another way of committing suicide, said to have been borrowed from the Badagas, is that of taking opium. There has been a recent case of suicide, by this means, and when angry, a Toda sometimes says, "*mud tid kêdraividikin*"—"Opium eating, I will die."

The Monegar

The Todas have a *monegar*, or headman, who is responsible for the assessment which the Todas pay to Government for their grazing rights, &c. (see below).

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Astronomical Ideas

772 821 We have already seen that the Todas reverence the sun, and that the period of the moon is of the greatest importance in the regulation of the times for their ceremonies. In this chapter we have to deal with their views as to the nature of these bodies and of the stars.

The Sun

The Todas believe that when the sun goes down in the west, it goes to Amnòdr. The same sun illuminates both worlds, and this is shown very well in the story of Kwoto; when this demi-god tied down the sun, there was darkness both in this world and in the other, and the people of Amnòdr joined with those of this world in imploring that the sun should be restored to its proper place.

When the Todas know that there is going to be an eclipse of the sun, they abstain from food, but they do not shout out during the eclipse as we shall see they do in the case of the moon. When the eclipse is over, they have a feast with *ashkkartpimi*.

The Moon

The new moon is called *sut* and the full moon *ntrv*. We have already seen the enormous influence of the period of the moon in Toda ceremonial and I have given above the method of counting between the periods of new and full moon so as to know the correct day of the new moon if for any reason it should not be visible.

772 773 821 The Todas see a figure in the moon which they call *mûrs*, the hare.[1] The following story not only shows how the hare comes to be there, but also furnishes the explanation of eclipses of the moon and the origin of the Paikara river.[2]

Two men who were *matchuni* (see p. 501) went out one day to fetch honey. After a time they separated, and one

[1] In India the marks on the moon are frequently supposed to represent a hare.

[2] For another version of this story obtained by Mr. Thurston, see *Bulletin*,

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found honey, while the other found none. The man who found the honey put it into a dairy vessel called *pan*, which he hid in a tree, and when he met the other did not tell him of his good fortune. After a time the *pan* containing honey which had been put in the tree suddenly broke, and the vessel became a snake, while the honey became the Paikara river. The snake ran after the man who had hidden the honey, and when the man saw the snake coming after him, he ran away. As he was being pursued, a hare came between the man and the snake. Then the man threw his cloak over the hare and hid himself, and the snake ran after the hare. The hare ran to the sky followed by the snake, and they came near the sun, which said, "Don't come near me because I am very hot. Go to the moon!" So the hare went to the moon, and the moon said, "Do not be afraid; I will protect you till the end of the world." The snake still goes sometimes to catch the hare in the moon, and when he goes the moon becomes dark and some people fire guns and send up rockets and the Todas shout. When it is known that there is going to be an eclipse the Todas abstain from food, and when they see the moon being eclipsed they shout out.

I was told that there was another incident of the story connected with shooting stars, but I was unable to obtain an account of it.

PLANETS

772 821

The Todas know Venus, which they call *Pili*, and they also speak of the "morning star."

CONSTELLATIONS AND STARS

The Todas have names for several stars or constellations. The Pleiades are called *Kadsht* and the constellation is believed to be composed of six stars.

Another heavenly body which I could not identify is called *Keirt*. *Keirt* has already been mentioned in Chap. XIV., and it is the evil influence of this body which is chiefly feared after

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A Single Star called Ishthati is almost certainly Sirius.

This star was not visible in the evenings during my visit, and at first Jupiter was pointed out to me as *Ishthati*, but this was certainly wrong. *Ishthati* appeared to correspond to the Badaga *etukadichi*, which means "bull deceiving." The origin of the name is that one night a Badaga went out from his house and saw a very bright star, so bright that he thought it was the morning star. So he let his bulls out from the enclosure in which he had put them for the night. When a long time passed and it did not become day, the man said, "Let the star be called *etukadichi*."

A pair of stars to which the Todas give the names of *Tidrvalmokh* and *Tidiishti* are near Aldebaran, forming part of the Hyades (probably η and ε Tauri). The following story tells how these stars come to be in the sky.

Once on the hills there was a bird with young. The mother went away to get food and a snake came to eat the young ones. When the young birds saw the snake climbing up the tree, they called out to Kudursami, who is above. He heard their cry and took them to the sky. The name of the bird was *tidrval*, and so one star is called *tidrvalmokh*. The *tidrval* still sings "*K'udursami trrrrrr*."

According to another version, the bird *tidrval* had offended Swami, and as a punishment Swami took its young and they became the two stars.

This story appears to be a well-known Indian folk-tale, and it has certainly been a recent acquisition of the Todas.

It will be seen that there is much reason to believe that the greater part, if not all of the ideas of the Todas about the stars have been borrowed. In their own folk-lore there seems to be very little concerning the heavenly bodies except in the story of the man and the honey, and I even suspect this to be a borrowed legend which has been somewhat modified by Toda ideas.

It is interesting, and I think important, that references to Swami occur in these stars-myths. In an earlier chapter I have given it as my opinion that the idea of Swami has only recently been acquired by the Todas, and I attach importance to the occurrence of the name in legends which have certainly been borrowed from another race.

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177 time. The Kotas are mentioned in Toda legend. The
174 people of Tiṅgudr play a prominent part in the story of
773 Kwoten (p. 195), and this deity is said to have been the first Toda who stayed at a Kota village, viz., at the village of Kulgadi (or Gudalur). He sat and slept on the Kota *tôn* and since that time the Todas have stayed at this village, though they will not stay at any other. The relation between Kwoten and the Kotas seems to have been especially close. The old woman, Muturach, from whom the present people of Kanòdrs are descended, according to the legend, may have been a Kota. The Kotas who give tribute to the Todas are known as their *mutṭu* Kotas, and the first part of the old woman's name may have been this word.

Our acquaintance with Kota mythology is too scanty to contribute much to our knowledge of the relations between the two peoples. Breeks states that Kurguli (Padagula) is the oldest of the Kota villages, and that the Badagas believe that the Kotas of this village were made by the Todas. At Kurguli there is a temple of the same form as the Toda dairy, and this is said to be the only temple of the kind at any Kota village.

Breeks gives a legend which records the origin of the different foods of the Nilgiri tribes. Kambataraya, perspiring profusely, wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and out of these formed the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to live principally upon milk, the Kurumbas were permitted to eat the flesh of buffalo calves, and the Kotas were allowed perfect liberty, being informed that they might eat carrion if they could get nothing better. My interpreter, Albert, was told a different version of this legend, according to which Kambataraya gave to each people a pot. In the Toda pot was calf-flesh, and so the Todas eat the flesh of calves (*i.e.*, at the *evhumpttkpimi* ceremony); the Kurumba pot contained the flesh of a male buffalo, so this is eaten by the Kurumbas. The pot of the Kotas contained the flesh of a cow-buffalo, which may, therefore, be eaten by this people.

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Todas and Kurumbas

The Toda name for a Kurumba is *Kurub*, which often sounds like *Kurŏ*. In the secret language, a Kurumba is called *ár ádrikpaí*, "the man who watches the way." Mr. Thurston states that when a Kurumba meets a Toda, he bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumba's head. The Todas may visit Kurumba villages and take food in them.

Two ceremonial objects are obtained by the Todas from the Kurumbas. One is the tall pole called *tadrzi* or *tadri*, which is used in the dance at the second funeral ceremonies and afterwards burnt. Poles of the proper length are said to grow only on the Malabar side of the Nilgiris and are probably most easily obtained from the Kurumbas. The other is the *tódr*, or funeral post at which the buffalo is killed, which is probably made of teak wood.

The most striking feature of the relations between Todas and Kurumbas is the belief of the former in the magical powers of the latter, a belief which is shared by both Kotas and Badagas. The sorcery of the Toda is dangerous, but can be remedied, while for *kurubadrshti*, or Kurumba sorcery, there is no remedy, and all that can be done is to kill the Kurumba, apparently to avoid further evil consequences to the community rather than from motives of revenge.

The Kurumbas play no part in the social life of the Todas. With the one exception of providing the funeral pole, I could not learn that they had any functions at Toda ceremonies. It was said that the *tánol*, Pangudr, who was believed to be inspired by Kwoto, must dance, *i.e.*, divine, to the Kurumbas before he dances to the Todas, and when so doing, must dance like a lame man, this behaviour owing its origin to the god Kwoto (see p. 209). It is possible that this shows that the Kurumbas believe in Toda divination and consult the diviners.

The Kurumbas are mentioned in several Toda legends. According to one account, it was this people whom Kwoto deceived, making them eat the flesh of a buffalo calf,

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according to another, it was the Panins or Panyas who were deceived by the god.

Kwoten is said to have initiated the practice of allowing Todas to visit Kurumba villages, and he appears to have been closely connected, in some way, with the Kurumbas, who still offer plantains to Terkosh and light lamps in her honour, Terkosh being the goddess who was connected with his disappearance and deification.

In the story of Kuskarv, the Kurumbas, together with the Irulas, collect honey for the Todas from nests in a tree,[1] and this seems to point to a time when these tribes took an active part in the social life of the Todas. It seems possible that the Kurumbas and Irulas were the huntsmen of the Todas, and sought roots and honey for them, just as the Badagas were the agriculturists and the Kotas the mechanics.

Todas and Irulas

The Irulas live on the lower slopes of the Nilgiri Hills and have few relations with the Todas. They are called *Erl* by the Todas, and, according to Mr. Thurston, they are saluted in the same way as the Kurumbas. The Irulas are among the people mentioned in the remedial formula used against the effects of the evil eye, and are evidently regarded as having some magical power, though they are not feared in the same measure as the Kurumbas.

The name of the Irulas only occurs once in my collection of Toda legends, in the story of Kuskarv, where they are associated with the Kurumbas. Atioto, who is the special deity of Kwbirdoni and Pedrkarv, is said to have a temple of which the priest is an Irula. This is probably an Irula temple to which the Todas make offerings.

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that some of the Kurumbas of Malabar are still noted for their cleverness in collecting honey, and are known as *Thene* or honey Kurumbas (Fawcett, *Bull. Madras Museum*, iii, p. 91).

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CLANS OF THE TODAS

IN this chapter I propose to give a short account of each of the Toda clans with any special features which characterise its ceremonial and social organisation. The chapter will consist largely of detail, much of which may be thought to have no great interest, but it seems desirable to put on record as full an account as possible of the condition of the people at the time of my visit. A certain amount of folklore will be included, those tales being given which are specially connected with the history of a clan.

THE TARTHAR CLANS

NÖDRS

The people of Nödrs owe their special importance to their connexion with the goddess Teikirzi, who was the *nödrodchi*, or first ruler of the clan, and according to tradition bestowed certain special favours on her people. Chief among these is the possession of the Nödrs *ti*. This is undoubtedly the most sacred and important of the five *ti* institutions, and its herds are much larger than those of any other. The fact that the Nödrs people own this *ti* and have the power of appointing to the office of *palol* gives them great distinction in the eyes of the Todas, and this is emphasised when the *palol* is undergoing his ordination ceremonies, for several of these take place in villages of the Nödrsol. The preliminary ceremony for those who wish to become *palol*, which is called *tarkevat*, is also usually performed at a Nödrs village.

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ordination ceremonies, and I was shown the spot under a tree where he has to sleep, the same spot being also used by the *wursol* and *kaltmokh* when they undergo any part of their ordination ceremonies at Odr. 234 621 773

Another feature of interest is the connexion of this village with Kuudr. An Òdr man must be present at the *irpalvusthi* and salt-giving ceremonies of Kuudr, and a Kuudr man must attend when these ceremonies are performed at Òdr. Further, the *kwarzam* of Òdr are said in the prayer of the *erkumptth-pini* ceremony at Kuudr and the *Kwarzam* of Kuudr are said at Òdr.

The following legend records the origin of these customs:—

Soon after Teikirzi had given the buffaloes to the different villages, the buffaloes of Kuudr and Òdr were grazing together, and when evening came they could not be separated and both herds went together to the funeral place called Keikars. The *wursol* of Òdr and the *palikartmokh* of Kuudr brought their milking-vessels, each to milk his own buffaloes, and they also brought their churning-vessels (*patat*) and cooking-vessels. After they had milked, the *wursol* of Òdr went to pour his milk into his *patat*, and when doing so some of the milk splashed into the vessel of the *palikartmokh*. They then cooked some food with the milk, and as the food was boiling strongly, some of it went from one cooking-pot to the other. Then the people of the two villages met and decided that, as the two kinds of buffalo had been milked in one place and the two kinds of milk had been mixed with one another, each of the villages should mention the *kwarzam* of the other in its prayer, and people of one village should attend the ceremonies of the other.

Tadshtairi (Talrpattarairnand). This is another important Nòdrs village. It was vacant at the time of my visit, but is still often occupied. It had at one time a dairy called *Okurshopali* with seven rooms, which was, like that of Nòdrs, a *kudrpali*. It fell into disuse at the same time as the Nòdrs dairy, and its site is still quite distinct; but though it seemed larger than usual, I could discover no indication of the number of rooms it had had. When I visited the village there were nine ovens standing in a row, which had been used to cook the 234 621

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554 796 ceremony of pregnancy and after childbirth. He does this for women of his own clan and for those of all other Tarthar clans except that of Kwòdrdoni. A Melgars man must be present on the second day of the *irpalvusthi* ceremony of the *kugvalir* of Taradr, and the ceremony of this day, which is called *irpatadukti*, cannot take place if a Melgars man is not present.

[574] It was also said that a Melgars man must be present whenever a feast is given at the end of a period called *pon* in any clan, but I am very doubtful as to the necessity of this. I think it is probable that no feast ever occurs at which a Melgars man fails to put in an appearance, and that my informants had come to regard his presence as necessary, but it seemed very doubtful whether his presence was an essential condition for the occurrence of this, as it certainly was in the case of certain other ceremonies.

184 554 618 713 There was some difference of opinion as to the reasons why the Melgarsol enjoyed these exceptional privileges. The Melgars people themselves believed that their exceptional position was due to the connexion of Kwoto with their clan. They said that when Kwoto became superior to all the gods, and was called Meilitars, these privileges were given to the clan to which he belonged. According to another account, the position of a Melgars man at the head of the procession of the Nòdrs *ti* was settled by Anto in order to appease the buffalo Enmars when two of its bells were taken away and given to the Pan *ti*. Others, again, said that the privileges of the Melgarsol were given as a recompense when this clan was deprived of its privilege of becoming *palol*. There is little doubt that the real reason for the Melgars privileges has been lost and that different reasons have been sought in the Toda legends. The Melgars people have chosen a reason which gratifies their pride in claiming Kwoto as one of themselves, while other Todas have reasons which serve to add to the importance of the sacred institution of the *ti*, of which they are so proud.

184 554 618 There are other special features in which the Melgars people differ from the rest of the Tarthar clans. They have no *wursulir*, though they can become *wursol* to other clans, so

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For some time after the separation intermarriage was not allowed between Kuudr and Pedrkars, but recently such marriages have taken place, and several are recorded in the genealogies.

There are very few members of the clan, only seven males and five females. At present there is only one *kudr* and this has only one *pòlm*. Formerly there were two *kudr*, but one became extinct some time ago.

About three generations ago there was a quarrel between the people of Pedrkars and those of Piedr. A man of Pedrkars named Kavanadi had married a woman of Piedr and one day quarrelled with his wife's father. At Piedr there were at the entrance of the buffalo-pen two large wooden posts (*tüli*). After the quarrel Kavanadi went to Piedr and carried off both the posts with the wooden bars (*tasth*) by which the opening of the pen is closed. When Kavanadi had carried the posts and bars as far as a place called Kalin, near the Kota village of Tizgudr, a stone on the top of one of the *tüli* fell down. It may still be seen and is known as *Kalinkars*. Kavanadi went on, but he soon began to spit blood, and when he had gone some way further, he was obliged to drop the *tüli* at a place which is now called *Tülipudinpem*. He managed to reach his home at Pedrkars and then died. A council was held and it was decided that marriage should not be allowed in future between the Piedrol and Pedrkarsol, and no such marriages are recorded in the genealogies.

The stone called Kalinkars which fell by the way is now said to be able to move about and may be seen one day at one spot and on another day at another. The Kotas of Tizgudr have several times taken the stone to their village, but it has always gone back again. In spite of his unfortunate end, Kavanadi is regarded, more or less, as a hero by the Todas and is mentioned in the funeral eulogy of Pidrvan (p. 387).

All the villages of the Pedrkarsol are in the part of the hills near Kwòdrdoni. Pedrkars itself is said to have been at one time a *ti mad*. Some Tamil people once came to the hills and found some of the buffaloes of the *ti* standing by a

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

621 swamp. The Tamils fired at the buffaloes and one was killed. When the *palol* saw this, he cursed, saying "*pedr kars* 773 *ama, kwòdr nòdr ama*," "may the Tamil stone become; may 618 the *ti* place an ordinay place become!" Then the people who had killed the buffalo became stones and the buffaloes were taken by the *palol* to the *ti mad* of Kakwai. The people who had separated from Kuudr had before this been living at Pongudr, but when the *ti mad* was deserted they went to live there, and the place was called Pedrkars in consequence of the curse of the *palol* and the clan has since taken its name from this village.

KULHEM

184 This clan appears to occupy the same kind of inferior 554 position among the Teivaliol as that taken by the Kidmadol 618 among the Tarthar clans. The Kulhemol are not allowed to 773 sit on the *meitün* (right-hand side) of a dairy, and they are not allowed to perform the ordination ceremony with *tudr* bark, which cuts them off from holding the offices of *palol*, *kaltmokh*, or *wursol*.

There was some difference of opinion about the cause of the inferior position of Kulhem. According to one account the people separated from Kuudr at the same time as the Pedrkarsol and for the same reason. According to another account, when Teikirzi was dividing the buffaloes, she left Kulhem till last, intending to give them a good portion. When she was about to give the people of this clan their buffaloes, the invaders came who have been mentioned in the story of Teikirzi (p. 187). After the invaders had been turned to stone, Teikirzi returned to her task of giving buffaloes to Kulhem, but she came to the conclusion that the clan was in some way responsible for the misfortune which had happened, and she gave them no sacred buffaloes and only a few *putiir*, and she enjoined that they should not be ordained with *tudr*. It seems, however, that the Kulhemol resemble the Pedrkarsol in becoming eligible for the office of *palol* if they do *irnörtits* to Kuudr.

621 The chief village, *Kulhem* or *Kulthlem*, is near Kanòdrs.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

of the dairies and priesthood. In 1826 the Rev. James Hough addressed a number of letters to the Bengal Hurkaru, giving an account of the Nilgiris and their inhabitants, and these letters were republished in a book in 1829. A more elaborate and most excellent account of the Todas was given by Captain Harkness in 1832, in a work entitled *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, and since that time very many of those who have visited the Nilgiri Hills have had something to say about the Todas and their ways. As I have already pointed out, these records from the earlier part of last century differ but little from my own, and do not furnish us with any evidence that Toda customs underwent any great change during that century.

As regards the evidence from Toda tradition, we are in no better case. Several writers have stated that the Todas believe that they came to the Nilgiris from elsewhere, but whenever I made any inquiries on this point I was assured that they had always been on the Nilgiri Hills, the first Toda having been created on the Kundahs in the manner already described.

It seems most probable that those who have ascribed such traditions to the Todas have been misled by the account of the Kamasòdrolam. These are the people who are believed to have been driven away from Kanòdrs by Kwoten (see p. 195). The Todas have a very sincere belief in the existence of these people, and when I showed one man the frontispiece in Marshall's book, representing a Toda village and its inhabitants, something unfamiliar in the arrangement of the scene made the man think that it must be a picture of the Kamasòdrolam. Any Toda who is asked whether there are other Todas and where they live will at once think of the Kamasòdrolam and will tell of these people, and the story might easily be mistaken for a tradition of their origin.

The Todas are also said to believe in their descent from Ravan, and I was told by one man that they were descended from the Pandavas, but I have little doubt that such beliefs are only recent additions to their mythology.

In studying the origin and history of the Todas we have

2: Marshall G.5 (1870) 1873 Toda

said Madge Wildfire, 'ye ken[a] very weel it's buried—but that signifies naething. I have had it on my knee a hundred times and a hundred till that, since it was buried; and how could that be were it dead, ye ken? it's merely impossible.'

It is somewhat remarkable that the Todas should not only feel so confident in their immortality, but be without apprehension as to the future state; in the possibility that individually they may not attain to it. No such doubts arise to perplex their simple minds. Death is not a leap in the dark, but the contrary. The mode of thought—if thinking, it may be termed—by which they seem to set at rest this difficulty of more advanced and religious races, is too curious to be lost.

Their belief appears to be based on two considerations; one, what they know: the other, a sort of self-consciousness.

As regards the first, they *know* that they and their cattle were raised from the earth by the Great Unseen. This with them is a faith assured, as if the true story had been handed down from incontrovertible sources. They find themselves living, existing, breathing: they note the breath-life to leave the clay which returns to earth. But where does this breath-life go? The reply is contained in their *knowledge*. 'Tis a little sophistical perhaps, but an illogical jump is nothing with such people. They know that Todas and cattle live in amnôr; hence they are certain, with an absolute certainty, that this departed breath has gone there to join their forefathers. In this there is nothing more wonderful than that they rose from the soil! The subject is not worth thinking about! it has long been known! Thinking is difficult to the primitive mind. Best not to think!

If with all our accumulated stores of information, we find the subject of a future state but little further advanced than it was ages ago, we can sympathise with a very simple people who have so few facts to work upon, and with whom the

[a] I would invite a comparison between this word ken, and the Toda words for I see, I dream, I smell, *et cetera*, in Chapter XXIX.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

" oldest buffalo cows, hang a miserable little bell on their necks, this is enough to ensure " the buffaloes adoration. The buffaloes are permitted to go about free everywhere, also " into the fields to graze, and everyone considers himself fortunate if they eat something " of his property. Though the buffaloes are very often killed by tigers, the Todas do " not slacken in their worship."

The Carmelite made his journey in 1657, and only heard these reports on the Coast.

The Todas themselves have a few stories, which, however, it is very difficult to extract from them. The elder men, who are the chief depositaries of the mythological learning of the tribe, are, native-like, very averse to questions (which always seem to bring before them visions of taxation), and apt to profess entire ignorance. Such traditions as I have obtained, are of no historical importance, but may have some ethnological value, in common with the legends of most rude tribes. I give them, therefore, much in the form in which I received them.

A Pekkan man, Kiniaven, one of my intimate acquaintances, when asked whether his people had any songs like the Badagas, said yes, they had songs, and after entreaties for a specimen, began a queer monotonous sort of drone through his nose. He said there were no words to the song, but when pressed as to the meaning, and what they thought about when singing, he replied they thought about the names of their gods, which he enumerated. After racking his brains a little more, he discovered that they also thought about Dirkish the son of Ēn. What about Dirkish? Of what Dirkish said in lamenting his father Ēn. What did Dirkish say? "Where have you gone, why have you left us, " have you gone to Heaven, what shall I do," &c., &c. Did they sing anything else about Dirkish? Yes, they sang that Dirkish made everything, the kraals, the buffaloes, the Todas, the *pālkchis*, &c., &c., with childishly minute enumeration. Whether these lugubrious "songs without words" really are supposed to convey an idea of Dirkish's labours or lamentations, I cannot say; but the most discriminating ear could not discover any appropriate variations in tune. By further inquiries, I discovered that Ēn was "the first Toda who came" (he had previously said that they were created on the hills), he went to heaven by way of the Avalanche, and was no more seen; that his son was Dirkish, who built the munds and temples *and the Cairns on Seven Cairn hill,* and Nāttanēri hill,*† no others; that all the other cairns were built before the Todas came up; that Dirkish also divided the Todas into five tribes; that he did not die, nor go to heaven, but resided as a god on Seven Cairn hill. On being asked who told them all this, they said Kotēn told them, Kotēn was one of their ancestors, and brought up the Kotas. On another occasion they said the Kotas were also born on the hills, and explained the discrepancy, by saying that Kotēn had first bargained with the Kotas saying "You shall be my people, and make pots for us." Possibly the claim of the Kotas to dead buffaloes, mentioned before, formed part of this agreement.

Up to this point I had to extract Kiniaven's information piecemeal, but afterwards, finding, I suppose, that no fatal consequences followed his indiscretion, he became communicative, and volunteered the following stories, which he related with, for a Toda, great fluency.

I subsequently verified the stories in all essential points, by inquiries from other Todas.

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* Close to Mūttinād mund, near the top of the Segūr Ghāt. † To the right of the Coonoor road.

First Story.

A Pekkan* Ēn, and his wife who was with child, went from Kūltal mand to Okadnâdmand. The husband brought fibres of a thorn tree, and in due course the wife brought forth a pumpkin!†† The Pekkan said, "What! this child is dead, we must make a *Kêd*." They made a *Kêd*, and when the fire touched the pumpkin it split in two, and one half contained a male child; they brought it to Ootacamund, and it lived there, until one day the father found it playing in the kraal, and blew some dust on it, when it became a kite, and flew away. In those days the gods used to assemble on Doddabett, and the kite used to sit with them. One day the gods took counsel, saying "Why does the kite come here, let us drive him out;" so one of them, named Kodâtha, took the kite home to Kodâtha-betta (Hulikaldûrga), and pushed him over; the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck Kodâtha's head, so that it split into three pieces. Again the kite joined the assembly of the gods, who said, "The kite does everything; will he turn backwards the stream of Piewakmund? will he catch hold of the sun?" The kite turned back the stream, and tried to catch the sun, first with iron, then with bell-metal chains, both of which melted; at last he made the hook and part of the chain with stone, and caught the sun, and brought it down to Nârvêmand. Then the world was dark: then the gods went to the kite and said, "You are very great, let the sun go;" so he let the sun go, and the river return to its course.

Before death began, one Ēn, a Todi of Muttiandd Mand,‡ used to go to the other world and return, accompanied by Ponetwan of Okadnâdmand. One day when they were in the other world, the kite came and said to the people of Okadnâdmand, "Ēn and Ponetwan will not return, therefore tie bells to thirty buffaloes and make the *Kêd* ceremony on their account;" and they did so. As Ēn and Ponetwan returned, they met buffaloes with bells coming; so Ponetwan cried, "The kite has done this;" and he touched the buffaloes with his forehead and wept, and his tears became a spring of water; and he blew his nose and there sprang up a tree. Then both said, "They have killed buffaloes for us, we must go back to the other world;" so they went, and took the buffaloes with them. Afterwards a man died in a circle of stones on the right hand side of the road to Kalhatti.§ People tried to lift the body, but could not, so they burnt him there. As there were no posts to the circle, they made women with rice-pounders stand at the entrance all night, and next day the buffaloes were killed.

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* A Pekkan of Manjakal Mand.

† Comp. *Ramayana*, book I, chap. xl. Sumanâ, the wife of king Sagara of Ayodhya, gave birth to a pumpkin, which broke, and from it issued the 60,000 sons she had been promised. Afterwards the 60,000 were reduced to ashes in an encounter with Vishnu, but obtained Swarga on being sprinkled by the Ganges, by the advice of Garuda, whose appearance seems to make it possible that the Toda story may really be a corruption of this very old legend.

‡ To the left hand of the Sugar road, near the top of the Ghât close to Seven Cairn hill. The "Box" (Plate xxxv.) is on this road, which from the position it holds in all these stories, I imagine to be one of the oldest.

§ Nearly opposite Muttiandd Mand. There are several circles here, some apparently burials. I dug out the circle built on rock and found that it had nowhere more than a foot of soil above the rock, so that the posts could not have been fixed. There are many *Andavars* on a neighbouring hill, and the place seems to have been an old funeral mand. This story looks like an invention to account for this abortive kraal, when the real story was forgotten.

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As the Paikâra *Tiriari* buffaloes had gone with Ēn and Ponetwan, Pūrsh, Ēn's daughter, went to the other world and brought them back. But when they returned, they said, "We will not give you our milk, Pūrsh; let our calves have it." Pūrsh went and told this to Ēn, who said, "Give the *Tîd* tree bark to the buffaloes, and they will cease to speak, and you can take their milk." Again, Pūrsh went to ask for the golden milk-vessels and churn, which she had left in the other world; but Ēn said, "You left them here, and I will not give them back: use bamboos for milk vessels, and make a churn with five branches like the kafie flower,* and do not come here any more."

When Ēn was gone, there was no head of the Todas, so Pūrsh was made head; and she lived at Muttanâd temple (*Plate* XIII.), and established the *Pâlâls*, *Tiriaris*, *Mands*, and *Boas*. One day an army of horsemen from Mysore came near; when Pūrsh heard of it she said, "Let them all become stones;" so they were turned into stones;† but a few escaped. After this another troop came, and halted at Segūr. Four of them came up the hill, captured a Todi, and asked him, "Who turned the first army into stones?" and they bribed him to tell them of Pūrsh's curse. Then the Mysoreans returned and told their chief; and he said, "Take mutton, and throw it at Pūrsh's door, and the flesh will expel the god." They did so, and Pūrsh came out like a fire, and was transformed into the hill behind Muttanâd Mand.‡ Then the Mysoreans came up and plundered the Todas. Before this time the Todas used to see and speak to their gods, but from the time Pūrsh disappeared, and from the day that a Toda betrayed his people, the gods are seen no more of men.

Second Story.

Kotēn, Tekudi, and Elna were three brothers, who lived respectively at Hona Mand, Tārnāt Mand (*Plate* VIII.), and Muttanâd Mand.§ The wife of the former cursed her husband, saying, "You possess no *Kotagiri*, no *Tiriari*." Kotēn went to his brother and said, "I am cursed, I can't eat or go to the house; give me a *Tiriari* and some Kotas." Then Tekudi gave him a *Tiriari* bell and buffaloes from the Muttanâd *Tiriari*, and Elna gave him a Kota man and woman.

Kotēn went off with these to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriari* and *Pâlâls*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Kotagiri*, called by Todas Mērkōkâl.‖

When the Paikara Pâlâl drove Elna's buffaloes to the Sholūr Tiriari, where the god Ênta presides, the buffaloes refused to go, and said they could not go without the bell which Tekudi had taken. The Pâlâl told Elna, who told Ênta. He said he would give a stick, which was to be given to a Pekkan of Manjakal Mund, who was to take a horn to be cut from the head of a living buffalo, and blow it in front, when the buffaloes would follow. Even now when the Paikara buffaloes go to the Sholūr Tiriari, a Pekkan must go in front with a horn, and the horn is blown every evening when the Pâlâl has finished his meal. Ênta added that he would kill Tekudi by a bow and arrow within eight days.

* Such as the Todas still use. Two are seen in *Plate* IX. leaning against the hut.

† A variety of this story is connected with some upright stones, apparently slabs from a half-destroyed cairn, near Mr. Findlay's plantation at Kodanâd. Mr. Findlay tells me that he was told by a Toda, that these were once soldiers who insulted the Pâlâl of a neighbouring Tiriari, whereupon he threw some milk over them and turned them into stones.

‡ The hill nearest Muttanâd Mand is Seven Cairn Hill, connected with the story of Dirkish.

§ All these mands belong to the Todi clan, which is the largest, and possibly the oldest from its position in these stories.

‖ Mērkōkâl means the Kota village of the Kundahs. Mēr is the Toda for Kūndahs, and Kōkâl for Kota village.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

As Tekudi came from Tarnâd Mand one day, an arrow appeared in the shape of a bird screaming. Tekudi looked up and the arrow dropped into his eye. The arrow was one that a lame Toda, lying down and by means of his legs,* shot by command of Ênta into the air.

Tekudi fell on his back and died, and a Toda man with him put a stone on his head and on each of his hands and his legs. The stones are still to be seen on the road to Paikâra. The man accompanying Tekudi, reported what had happened to the people at Tarnâd Mand, and they all went out to see, and found some hair on the stone which had been placed over the head, and some blood, but no corpse.

After this, Kotên went to a Kurumba village in Bâni Shîma,† and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swâmi‡ woman, by name Têrkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotên returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotên slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring§ and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Têrkosh were transformed into two hills, which are now known by the names of Kotên and Têrkosh, on the Sispâra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits.‖ The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Têrkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotên.

Elna had five or six hundred cattle at Muttanâd. When milking them in front of the mand, samber used to come out of the *shola* and bell and make a noise, which made all the buffaloes run away. So Elna built the wall which now appears at Muttanâd Mand.¶

Third Story.

Ên's father was called Pith, and he and his father made the Mands. Ênta, Pith, and Dewak were born at the same time, all Swâmis in the form of men, and are recognised by all Todas as gods. There were no Todas when they were born. Ên one day said, "What's the use of being quiet?" and took a stick and thrust it in the earth, from whence came eighteen hundred common buffaloes, followed by a Toda holding a buffalo's tail. Ên's wife did the same a little way off, and out came two thousand

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* Compare *Elphinstone's History of India*, Appendix iii., page 263.—"The peculiar Indian bow, now only "used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the foot, and shoots an arrow more than "six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, &c." This incident confirms in a measure the testimony as to the use of the bow afforded by the marriage and funeral rites.

† Bâni Shîma, the country of the Bhawâni (Bhowâny) river.

‡ Swâmi, God or Lord; used here as an adjective.

§ Nîrvîn, the present head of the Todi clan, possesses a ring, an ordinary silver ring of large size, which is said to be Kotên's ring. Nîrvîn claims to be a direct descendant of Kotên. He professes to have lost the spear.

‖ These five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, viz.:—Dirkish, Kodêthu, Pûrsh, Kotên, and Têrkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt at Malaverasamâli.

¶ This seems to have been connected to account for the existence of the wall which runs round the crest of the hill and forms a peculiar feature at Muttanâd Mand.

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white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made all the mands and *tiriveis*. They themselves became *Pālāls*, and built temples. When a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Āstrem*.

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēmād Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Amundāl*. Ēn and Pauv remained making *pūjā** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Amundāl*. Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Amundāl*. They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to

* *Pūjā*, worship.

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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§11. Another frequent suffix is -nuɪs. It is found also in a number of kūasm of munds and in these it is possible to find a meaning for it. E.g. myɲj of the kuɪūɯṭoɪ̯ is the place where the gods hold their assembly (cf. §3); its first kūasm is paɪrnuɪs which is interpreted by the Todas as "standing-place (nuɪs) of the 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) gods." There seems to be no reason to doubt this interpretation; the gods are said in a song-pair to be 1600 (paɪrnuɪr) and 1800 (puɪṭɕuɪr) in number. If this is correct, nuɪs, found only as a suffix or second member of a compound, is to be connected with the verb stem nuɪl- "to stand;" the change of l to s is paralleled elsewhere in the language. So also the kūasm koɪnuɪs of the mund nyɪḷṇ of the meḷgaɪsoɪ̯ is to be interpreted as koɪn-nuɪs "the place of the god koɪn;" koɪn or koɪnɷ̄ is the mountain near this mund. The first kūasm of the mund meḷgaɪs is naɪsnuɪs, clearly to be connected with the two kūasm of the people of this sib, naɪsθoɪr, naɪsɬep, the first of which has the element toɪr which means the endogamous moiety toɪrθasoɪ̯ as a whole or the people of each sib of this moiety. The first kūasm of the buffaloes of this sib, naɪsɪ̄ḷṇ, is also to be adduced, and the name of the pen at meḷgaɪs, naɪsṭūɯɪ (i.e. naɪs-tūɯɪ "pen"), which is also the name of a man (45, Narso). What the element naɪs means is quite unknown; but naɪsnuɪs is "the place of the naɪs." Two munds, kɪuɪr of the kuɪūɯṭoɪ̯ and kūaɪrθyɲj of the puɪrgoɪroɪ̯, have kūasɪ̄nuɪs as their first kūasm. This is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "the standing-place of kūasɪ̄m (the semi-mythical hero who was one of the mörroɪ̯ sib);" what connection he had with these two munds is unknown. Two place-names, not kūasm, with this element are poɪ̯ɲuɪs "the place of the funeral-hut," a male funeral-place of the kuɪūɯṭoɪ̯, and maɪrnuɪs, a female funeral-place of the mörroɪ̯, with unknown prior member. It is now established that the element -nuɪs is appropriate in place-names and kūasm of munds. A brother of momgiθj (15, Mongeithi), not recorded in the tables, is kūasɪ̄dnuɪs, whose name is the first kūasm of the mund kiʃker of his sib. kaɪsnuɪs (56, Karsners) < the first kūasm of the mund taɪmuɪx of his sib. The name kimuɪs (26, Kinsr) is derived from kimuʃɲuɪs, the first kūasm of the mund köɪroɪr, either by omission of the second syllable or by loss of the third syllable and rebuilding of the second on the pattern of other personal names ending in -nuɪs. For it is certain that -nuɪs is now felt as a

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is worked out, we shall not know whether the homonymy is of long standing or very recent, and the chronology should, I think, be taken into account in making any psychoanalytic study. It may be remarked, however, that the meanings "gold" and "privates of a young girl" have been represented by homonyms sufficiently long so that the first word is under a taboo in circumstances where the language-taboo work (see *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, p. 188).

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

of female-denoting significance, is -ɪdz. E.g. ɐrlɪdz (3, Arlidz) is derived by this suffix from ɐrl "small pebbles used in playing jackstraws or as counters in reckoning accounts." This woman was born in the sib of the noŋoŋ; it was at noŋ that the goddess tɵɪkɪj performed her acts of creation and divided up the Todas into sibs and assigned buffaloes to the sibs. In the songs when this is referred to, a usual pair of phrases is:

mɑxɐrxoj	potswθnoɪr
first-hand	where (she) placed-sacred place
mɑxɐrɐrl	oɪkjuθnoɪr
first-pebbles	where (she) set out-sacred place

i.e. "(noŋ) the sacred place where tɵɪkɪrj in the beginning laid on her hand and set out pebbles in making the divisions." It is clear that ɐrl in the woman's name was used because of the association of her father's sib with tɵɪkɪrj, and it is probably significant that no other name has been discovered with this element. Another name with this suffix is moŋɪdz (7, Manidz); moŋ "soil, owned land" is a member of several pairs in songs—ɪŋefædʒ, moŋefædʒ "quarrels (pædʒ) about women (ɪŋ, a Hadaga word) and land;"

ɪŋexɵuɪţ	koţjoθik
woman-bungalow	you built
moŋexɵɪr	kerteθik
earth-pool	you dammed

i.e. "though a woman, you built a fine house and dammed with earth a pool to supply water." tɐrmɪdz (44, Termidz) <tɐrm "alms" (indirectly from Sanskrit dharma) has in mind the passage in the songs where a woman is praised for her alms-giving. nɵɵmɪţɪdz (3, Notidz) <nɵmɪţ "a sight," has in mind the pair describing funerals and festivals: koɪleoɪţ, koŋenɵmɪţ "dancing (oɪţ) with the legs (koɪl), sights for the eyes (koŋ)." poŋɪdz, daughter of kɵmɪlpɐx (52, Kulpakh) <poŋ "colored cloth" is probably derived from the song-unit otɐodjfoŋ which refers to a loincloth put on by men when they drive the buffaloes round in the pen at a two-day funeral. sɪnɪdz (21, Sinidz) <sɪn "gold." lɐɪbɪdz, daughter of tɵɪkɵmɪr (63, Teikudr), <lɐɪbm "profit" (indirectly from Sanskrit lābha). rupojɪdz (also rupoj), daughter of kɵmnɵs (34, Kemners), <rupoj "rupee." rɑɪmɪdz (38, Ramidz) <Rāma, the divine personage. roɪdgɪdz, daughter of poɪdz (34, Podj), <roɪdʒ "kingdom" (indirectly from Sanskrit rājya). pɪrkɪdz (28, Pirkidz) <pɪrkɪtɐn, the Toda form of the English name Breeks, after the Collector in the Nilgiris who did ethnological work on the Todas. sonmɪdz (63, Sanmidz) <sonm "the people" (indirectly from Sanskrit jana); this

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

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therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question him far away from his hills.

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun*? He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the *mokhthoditi* institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitaznokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

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in point, the only one I really came across. A man in his thirties, he was reputed to be a wanderer, travelling incessantly over the Nilgiri downs without any home at which to stay. He was not known to have any attachments at all, let alone feminine ones, and the explanation for this which I obtained from Kanvarsathi was illuminating. Pangur was supposed to have been excessively repressed in childhood, so that he had never got over the habit of masturbation. Again, I was struck by the very orthodox psychoanalytical nature of this interpretation coming from a people who have no notions of the modern development of psychology in the West. It was as if their lack of prudery in sexual matters coupled with a primitive commonsense were sufficient to make them understand these things much better than anyone in our societies would.

Both the Todas and the local Indian medical practitioners whom I interrogated on this question, said that they had never heard of or seen any case of insanity in the tribe. And this in spite of syphilis being (or having been until lately) rampant among them, although, it seems obvious, only in a mild form which does not bring about nervous disorders such as with us.

Suicide, on the other hand, was far from unknown, and numerous instances could be cited. Formerly, the recognized method of doing away with oneself was, as Rivers has recorded it (see *The Todas*, p. 555): hanging with a *kakhudri* (Dregea volubilis, Benth) creeper. This because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said to have killed himself in this way, after his master had been carried away by the goddess Terkosh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 201). Nowadays, however, opium has taken the place of this more antiquated method, a habit which, it is considered, has been adopted from the Badagas. Sriar's father, Izcheidi (20), thus committed suicide by taking the drug, because his wife had been carried away from him. because Erten, described as the servant of the man-god Kwotèn, is said have ended her life by taking opium after the death of her son.

Concerning crime, Rivers says: "It is, however, doubtful whether crime can be said to exist among the Todas," (*The Todas*, pp. 553–4). Certainly the tribe appears to be made up of remarkably meek and peaceful individuals, they having no arms at all, a rare occurrence among any human beings on earth. Nor is there any indication that they ever had any. From questioning I gathered that Todas often quarrel, shouting and even beating each other with the very attractive walking-sticks which it is their speciality to manufacture. But nothing

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the stubborn resistance of Pillar, who stood guard at the door of Tödhen's house at Aperngor, and who assured me that "Toda and Western medicine do not mix". Curiously enough, the victim agreed with his tormentor, and refused to follow me. In such cases the man usually resigns himself to a death which he feels the gods desire, but Tödhen somehow, in this case, recovered and did not die.

3. TODA POLYANDRY

The custom of polyandry is a very old one with the tribe. When questioned, the Todas will tell you that they have always practised it, and that its origins are unknown – it seems so natural a form of marriage to them. Their mythology mentioned polyandrous gods, therefore, obviously, they say, this type of matrimony has always existed.

Terkish, it seems, married an ordinary Toda called Püth who, after his death was deified. With him, the mother-goddess of the Nilgiris had thirteen children, eleven boys and two girls. None of these children married, except two of the sons, Podzövördjen and Pödjövorj, these polyandrously to an ordinary Toda woman called Notirsh. She too, after her death, became a goddess, now well-known to all Todas. From this polyandrous marriage of the gods, Kwotèn, the man-god who ran after Terkosh and was eventually carried off by her (see p. 265), was born. He married Müttürpani, a Toda woman and not a goddess, and had two sons by her, Koltawutn and Kshörwutn, of whom there are still descendants alive today (at a *mud* called *Kiaper* according to my 1939 notes, which I unfortunately have not been able to identify since; the late Ujar (48) having been my principal informant for the above).

Toda polyandry is mostly fraternal, as is usually the case elsewhere as well. But there are some cases of non-fraternal polyandry, although I, personally, found that, in those cases, the husbands were clan-brothers, that is, of the same clan and of the same generation which, in accordance with the classificatory type of Toda kinship, makes them look upon each other as brothers. Thus Wunkwur and Manarn of Norsh were married jointly to Puvamut of Tarar and lived together at the Norsh *mud*, where I often had occasion to visit them. She had been married to the first of her husbands (sons of two brothers) because he was her *matchuni*; then Wunkwur took her to wife from his cousin by paying Manarn a certain amount of buffaloes, but after some time, the latter returned and by giving half of the buffaloes back was accepted again as Puvamat's husband. *Pursültpimi* was, however, performed for

4 Yalman E-4.6 (1964-1966) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
Toda AW80

carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deva* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[3]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths, they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[3] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.